2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate D.

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412
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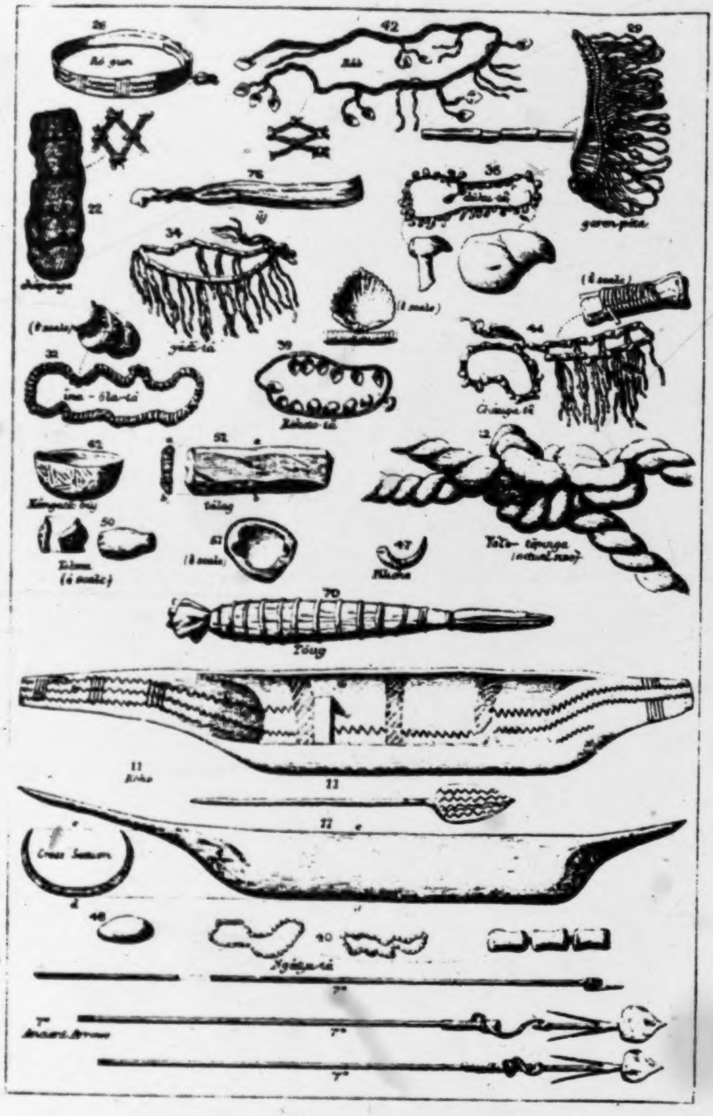
26
42
89
22
76
36
garen-pite
34
(½ scale)
yádi-tá
(½ scale)
44
31
ima-ôla-tá
39
Chauga-tá
62
51
12
Yôto-tâpunga
(actual size)
50
(¼ scale)
(½ scale)
47
70
Tôug
11
Rôko
11
Cross Section
40
Ngâyurâ
7°
7°
7°

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *mait·-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 [462] 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 [462] 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encampment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 [462] 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pā·repa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

●293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kō·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chō-*.

78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

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[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.

[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.

[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.

[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.

[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).

[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

namely, that they are a very dark pigmy tribe, with short round head and 142
infantile features. The hair of the head is wholly of the distinctly "peppercorn" pattern, *i.e.*, it grows in small tufts with intervening vacant spaces between (*see* Plate VII). The women were noticed to possess steotopygia in a markedly developed form (*see* Plate II, Fig. 2).

Freiherr von Eickstedt who visited the Islands in December 1926, claimed 114
that he was the first scientist to observe these two traits among the Anda- 142
manese. His contentions, however, cannot stand scrutiny, for in a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on February 2, 1880, entitled "Remarks on the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands" and published in the Proceedings of that Society, Surgeon E. S. Brander, who was stationed at Port Blair as Second Medical Officer, speaking about the general features of the Andamanese women, remarked that they "undergo exceptional enlargement of the gluteal region, the appearance of which is enhanced by their custom [293]
of attaching branches of twigs to their waist bands, so as to hang over this region. This large development of abdomen, hip and buttocks, added to a very waddling style of gait, gives these women in progression a most grotesque [481]
appearance". Eight years after, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Maurice Portman, who was the Officer-in-Charge of the Andamanese, in describing his visit to the Little Andaman, wrote about "the Hottentot Venus order of beauty" of the Onge women. The Hottentot Venus, as is well-known, is noted for her steotopygic development. These two papers appeared over 40 years before von Eickstedt's publication.

A detailed comparative review of the somatic traits of the Onges based 114
on the measurements taken by members of this Department will be published in the next issue of the Bulletin. Mr S. S. Sarkar's analysis of the blood group data is, however, published in this issue.

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V. Eickstedt Freiherr E.—Die Negritos der Andamanen. Anthropologischer, Anzeiger Vol. V, pp. 259-68, Stuttgart 1928.

Portman, Maurice.—The Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, Sept. 1880, London.

head ornaments and religious ceremonies. In Oceania there is, too, 174
the habit of changing personal names from time to time so prevalent among the Onges, and the existence of actual linguistic connections between Nicobarese, Andamanese, Semang, Aetà and peoples of Oceania have been demonstrated by experts.

Any differences which exist today are the result of centuries of contact with other peoples which the Semang and Aetà have experienced, unlike the Andamanese, who thus represent today the true Negritos. While life generally has changed somewhat over the centuries for the Semang and Aetà, certain typical facets of their culture have remained unaltered. Ritual cutting and distributing of game, the use of the arrow harpoon (always unfeathered) and the simple Onge-Negrito bow are still the same, despite the fact that the three groups have been separated for a very long time. Even the very absence of defensive weapons is a common feature; admittedly outside the Andamans arrows are poisoned and some may be feathered, but this is a recent and imitative innovation which is not found among the Andamanese, by virtue of their constant isolation. The persistence among the Onges of the simple bow tends to support the idea of Little Andaman as the first stage in the northward spread of the Negritos after they reached the island from Sumatra via the Nicobars. In Malacca the Semang have retained the same bow, as have the Aetà in the Philippines.

Among what may be termed similarities of physical habits is 171
nose-rubbing as a sign of affection, found in the Andamans, in [832]
Oceania, and parts of Papuasia and Melanesia. In all these areas [847]
there is the same belief that pregnancy is due to entry of a spirit into [843]
the body, and the same habit of suckling children for as long as [862]
four years. Similar too throughout the area are the methods of [755]
'curing' disease, such as smearing with ochre and heavy massage
carried out beside a fire, swallowing of balls of ochre, and the
'smoking' of wounds, smeared with a mixture of ochre and honey.
As protection from the sun or the rains (especially for the young [293] ●
children) crude umbrellas are made from giant palm leaves.

There are no prayers or propitiatory sacrifices to ensure health 171
and well being, but there is throughout the area the same concept 776
of mysterious forces to be feared, evaded, or let loose against [771]
enemies – never loved. Generally they are thought of in terms of [782]
spirits, usually active at night. There is some divergence in the

294

294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoemaking, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries	28	Household sewing machines	404
Factory buildings	348	Decorative art	531

Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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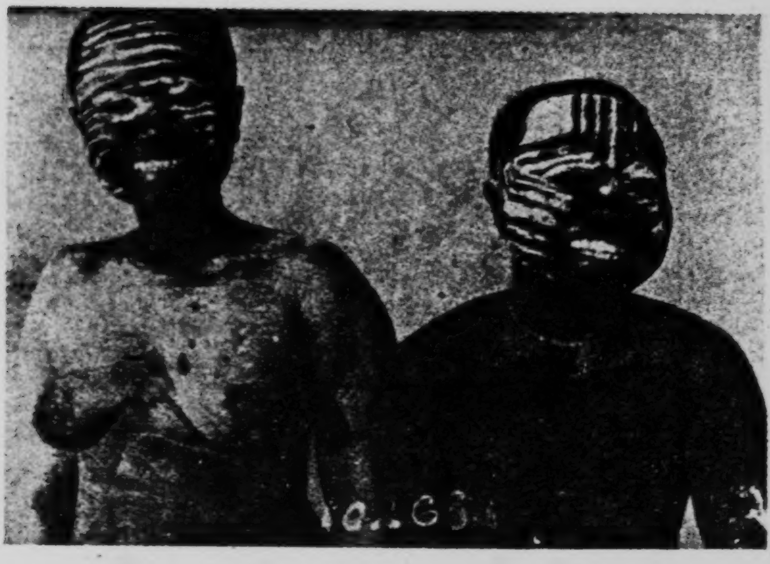

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342
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→

Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing p. 64]

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further 396
to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by 322
them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the 415
smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former 285
is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have in- 177
troduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, 412
from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important
pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel 294
of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art 323
of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount 517
of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women 302
shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass [412]
bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which [325]
save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal pur- [757]
poses if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red
orchre paint is a taboo.[1] [765]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon 582
by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. 589
In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the 674
husband and wife work for collecting their food. 593

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for 533
every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than 535
joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman : 101

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island;
(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands; and
(3) *Girerarag obeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one 157
of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda- 101

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[1] The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta. [113]

30

30 ADORNMENT--general statements dealing with several aspects of methods of adorning the body other than by the wearing of clothing, and with the manufacture of the means of adornment.

kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction 323
of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, 172
using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but
on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would
appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago.

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never 172
at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice 266
certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus
have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became
widespread.

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded 273
as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture. 174

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The 291
Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital 178
covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north 174
of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the 184
Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time.

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the 30
body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early 171
stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole
ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes
flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 145
for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an
equally early stage of cultural development.

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation 174
before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor 61
the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent 621
groups of families.

301

301 ORNAMENT--types of ornament worn (e.g., necklaces, bracelets, rings, anklets, earrings, labrets, hair ornaments); mode of attachment or suspension; age, sex, and status differences; materials and manufacture; occasions of use; etc. See also:

Work in bone, horn, and shell 321

PLATE II

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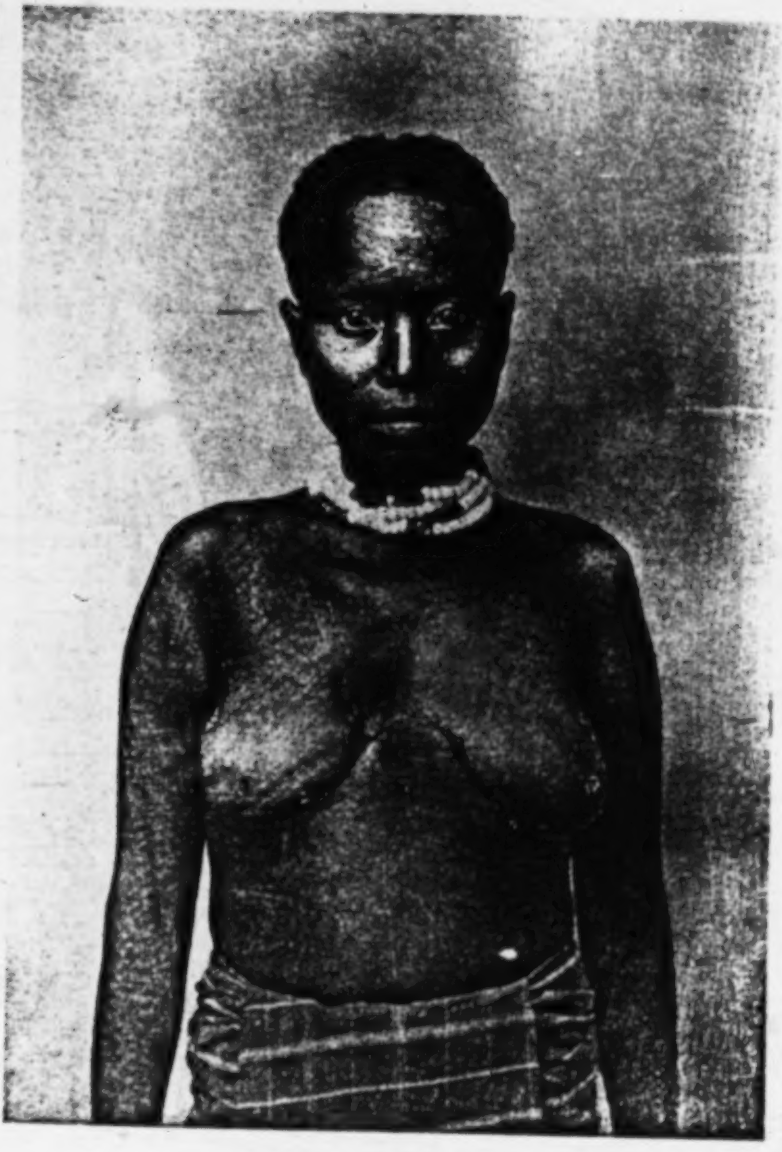

A young married woman

[p. 26B]

PLATE IV

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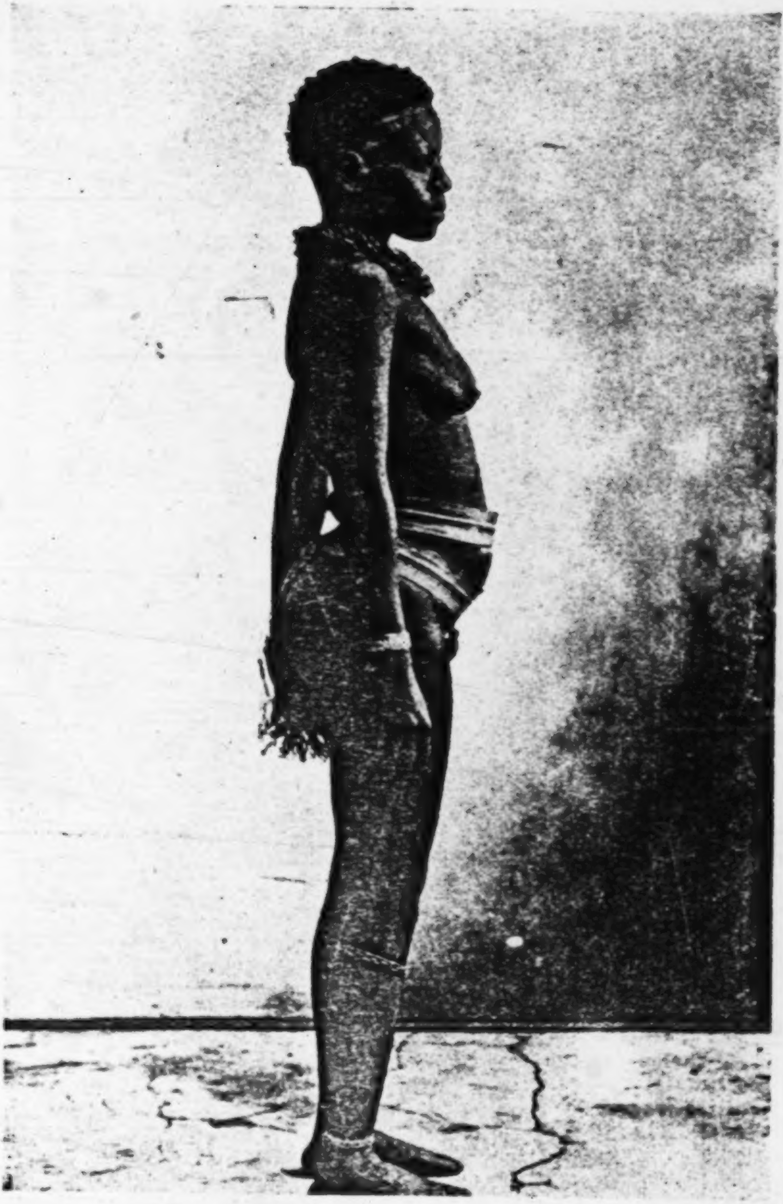

A married woman of the Great Andaman wearing belts of *Pandanus* leaf and ornaments of *Dentalium* shell

[p. 28 B]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE V

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301 ●
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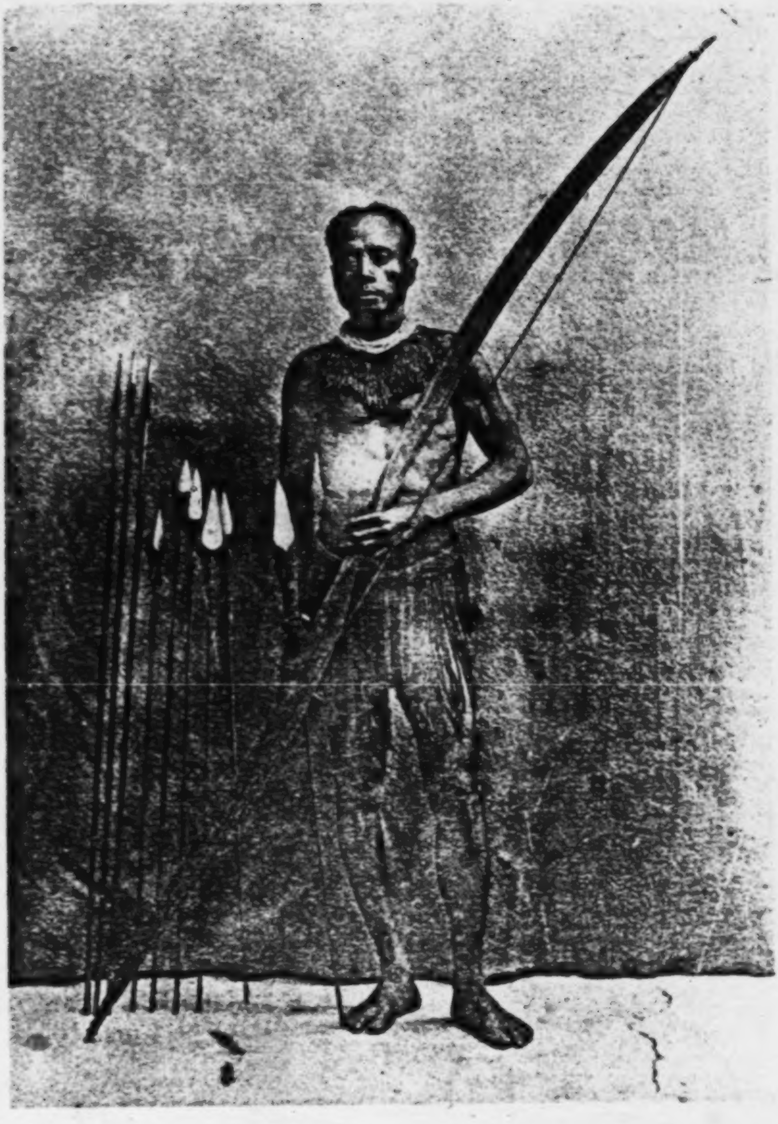

A man of the *Akar-Bale* tribe with South Andaman bow and arrows, wearing belt and necklace of netting and *Dentalium* shell. (Height 1494 mm., 4 feet 9 inches)

[facing p. 30]

(in the latter case) standing on the outstretched legs of the youth and rolling the muscles beneath his feet[1]. The joints of the toes are forcibly bent with the hand to make them "crack" if possible. A mixture of clay (*odu*) and water has been prepared in a wooden dish. The performer dips his hands into this and spatters it over the youth's body from head to foot, either by holding his hands near the youth and clapping them together, or by jerking the clay off his fingers with a flicking motion. During the whole of these proceedings the youth sits passive and silent. 881 262

The first part of the ceremony is now over. The food tray containing turtle meat and fat, cut into small pieces, is placed beside the youth and he is provided with a skewer of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as he may not touch the meat with his fingers. He must sit in the same position with legs outstretched and arms folded and surrounded with *Hibiscus* leaves. To feed himself he may unloose one arm, and when his legs are cramped he may double them up beneath him. He may not lie down nor speak nor sleep for 48 hours. During this period he may eat nothing but turtle and drink nothing but water[2]. The man in charge of the ceremony sits behind him and gives him instructions as to what foods he may and what he may not eat after the ceremony. Some of the men and women take it in turn to sit beside the youth, attending to his wants and talking or singing to keep him awake.

On the morning of the third day a belt and necklace are made of pieces of the creeper called *terkobito-balo*, i.e. "centipede creeper" (*Pothos scandens*), and these are placed round the youth's waist and neck. On this day he is permitted to sleep. Either on the same day, or early the next morning, he has a bath in the sea, to remove some of the red paint and clay, and he is then decorated with red paint made of red ochre and turtle fat, and with white clay (*tǫl-odu*). The red paint is put on in stripes over his body, and his ears are daubed with it. The white clay 881 301

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[1] In the Southern tribes large stones are placed on the youth's thighs.

[2] In these days the natives are very fond of tea, which they obtain from the Andamanese Homes; during the ceremony described above the youth or girl is not permitted to drink tea.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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is put on in a zig-zag pattern to be described later, the lines of white clay alternating with those of red paint. This decoration is done by female relatives.

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Early on the morning of the fourth day, soon after daybreak, the whole village is astir. One of the older men takes his stand by the sounding-board used for marking time at dances, and the women sit down near him. The youth comes out from his hut and stands in the middle of the dancing ground, and five or six men stand round him in a circle, each of them facing towards the youth. Each of the men, including the youth, holds in each hand a bundle of twigs of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or, if such be not obtainable, of the *Myristica longifolia*. The man at the sounding-board sings a song, beating time with his foot, in the usual way, on the sounding-board, and at the chorus the women join in and mark the time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The song may be on any subject and is selected by the singer from his own repertory. A song referring to turtle-hunting is preferred. During the first song the dancers stand at their positions on the dancing ground, lifting up their leaf bundles at short intervals and bringing them down against their knees. The singer then commences a new song or repeats the former one, and when the song comes to an end the youth and those with him begin their dance. Each dancer flexes his hips so that his back is nearly horizontal. He raises his hands to the back of his neck so that the two bundles of leaves in his hands rest on his back. With knees flexed he leaps from the ground with both feet, keeping time to the beating of the sounding-board, which is about 144 beats to the minute. At the end of every eight jumps or so, the dancer brings his hands forwards, downwards and backwards, giving a vigorous sweep with the bundles of leaves, which scrape the ground at each side of his feet, and then brings back the bundles to their former position. They dance thus for 15 or 30 seconds and then pause to rest. The dance is repeated several times, until the youth is tired out. As the dance is extremely fatiguing this does not take long[1].

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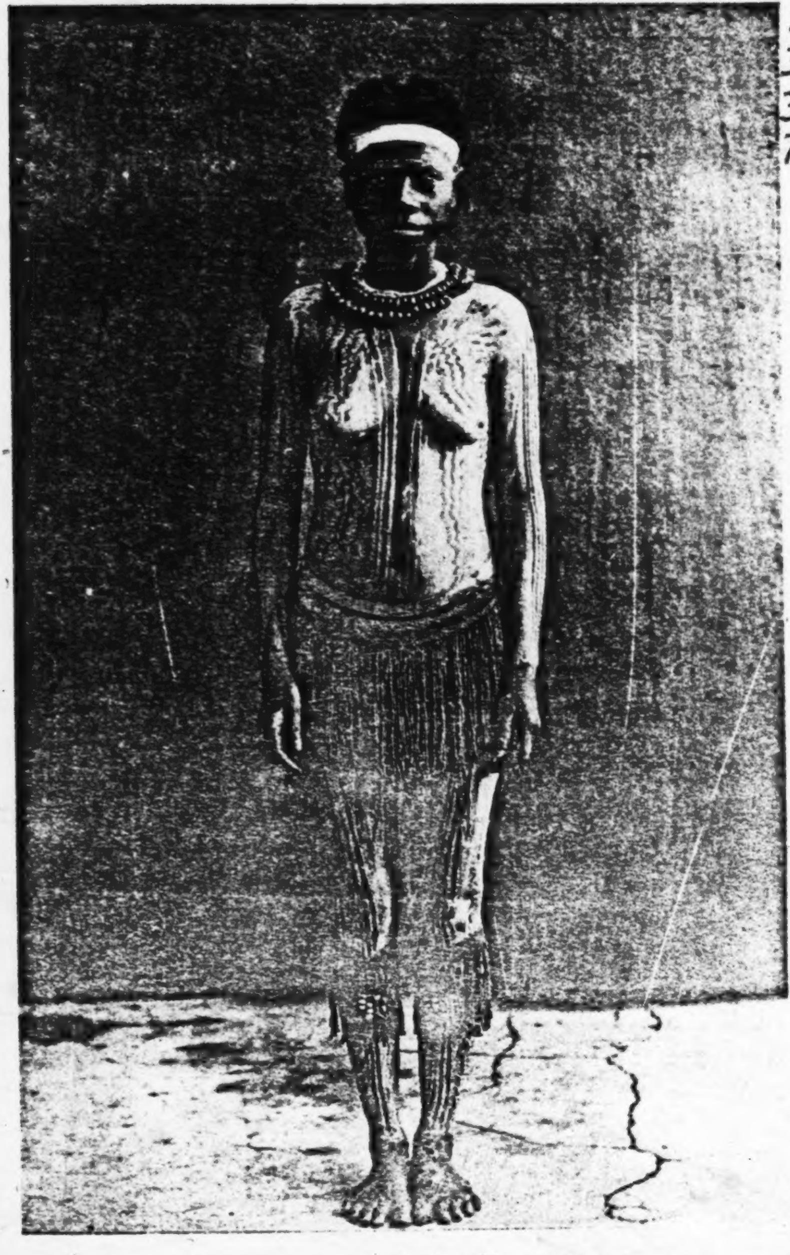
[1] I believe that the dance is intended to imitate the movement of a turtle as it swims through the water.

PLATE IX



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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE X

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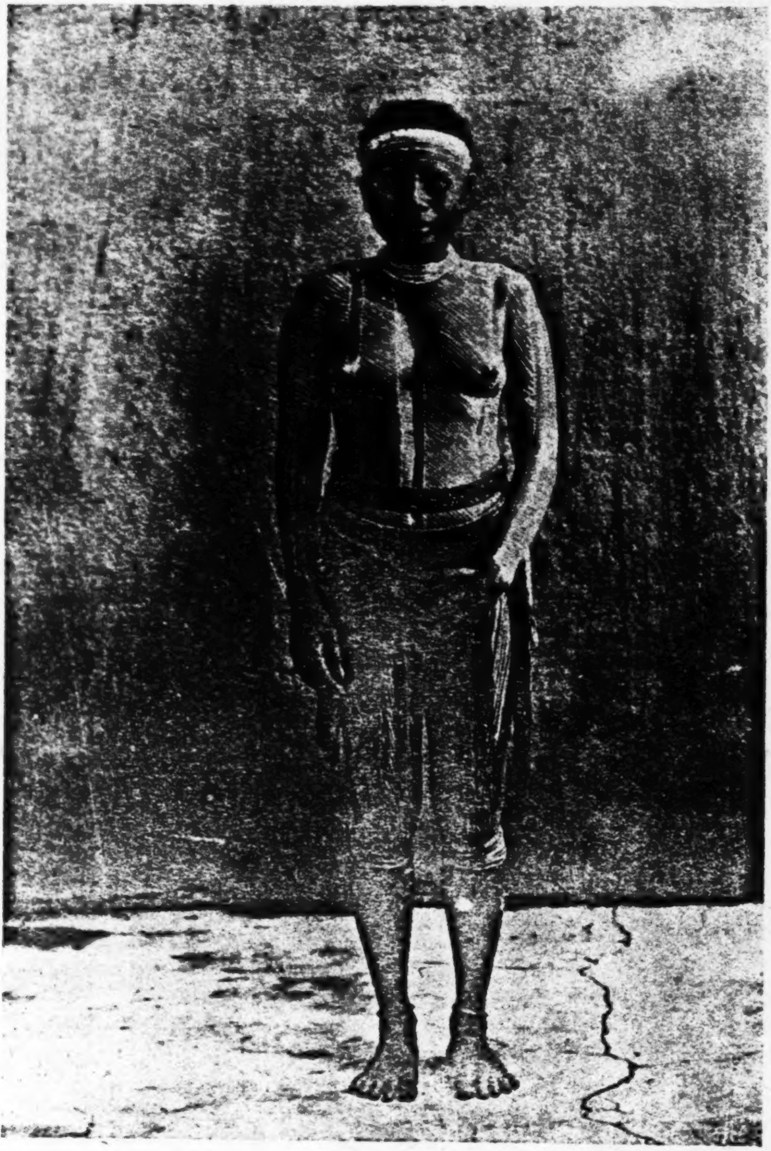

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

PLATE XIII

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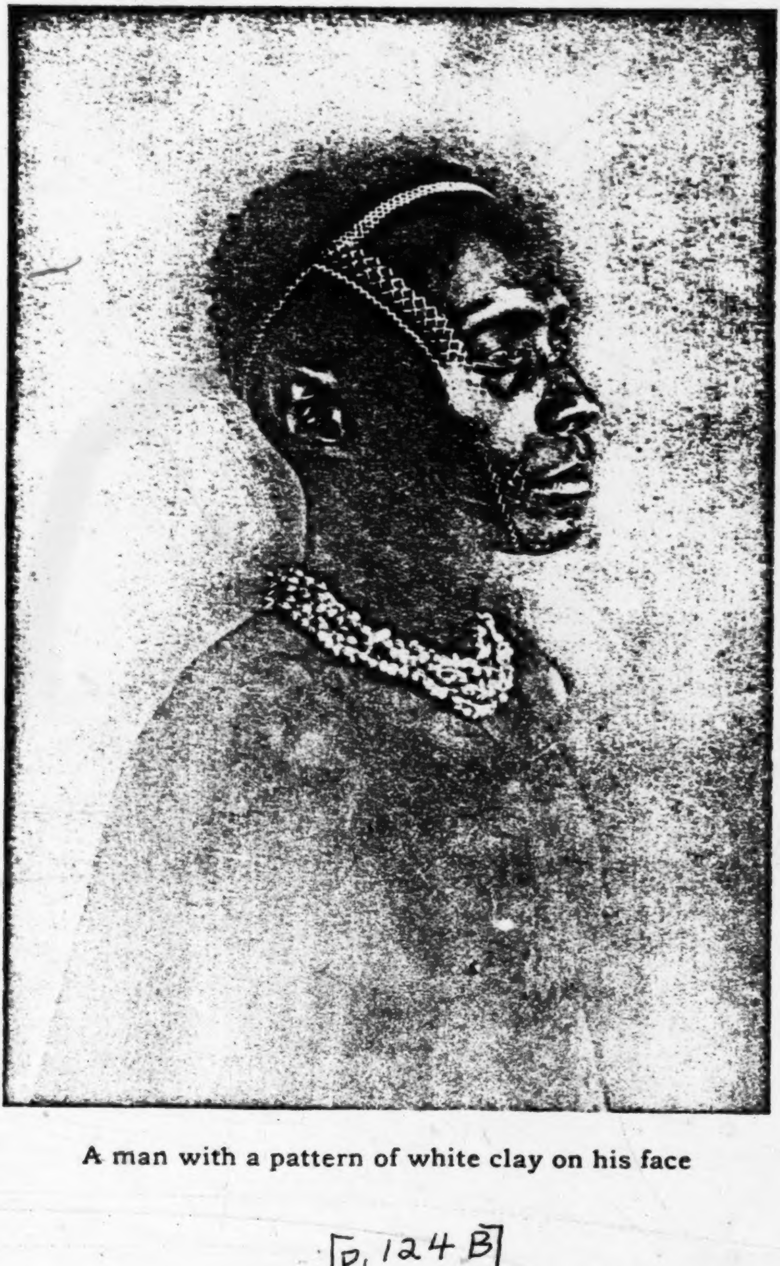

A man with a pattern of white clay on his face

[P. 124 B]

The same pattern is used to decorate a bride and bridegroom after their marriage. In the initiation ceremonies the youth or girl is decorated in this way before the dances at the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The same pattern is also made on a corpse before burial. 302

In all these cases the whole body is decorated. On less ceremonial occasions, such as an ordinary dance when there are no visitors of importance in the camp, a man frequently has his face alone decorated with white clay, as in the photograph of Plate XIII.

The third kind of material used for painting the body is red paint. This is applied in two different ways. When a man or woman is ill he or she is generally to be seen with some part of his body smeared with red paint. For colds and coughs the chest and neck are painted. In fevers red paint is smeared on the upper lip. Besides the medical use of red paint, if we may call it so, there is a ceremonial use, the pigment being used in combination with white clay, lines of red paint being applied to the body between the lines of clay of the snake pattern. It is used in this way to decorate the body of a dead person for burial, and on ceremonial occasions such as the dance at the end of mourning and the dances in connection with the initiation ceremonies. 302 755

Most of the ornaments worn at various times by the Andaman Islanders have a ceremonial or a magical purpose. The only things worn by men that can be considered to have a utilitarian value are the belt of rope and the necklet of string. The belt may be a plain piece of rope, or it may be ornamented with the yellow skin of a species of *Dendrobium*. It serves as a receptacle in which the natives carry such things as adzes, fish, roots, or even arrows. It is the one object that is constantly worn by men. The string necklet is simply a length of thin string tied round the neck. It serves as a means of carrying a knife and skewer. The knife, in former days made of a slip of cane, but in these times from a piece of scrap iron, is attached to a skewer of *Areca* wood by a short length of rope or stout string. By sliding either the knife or the skewer under the necklet at the back of the neck the double implement hangs securely in 301

● 301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 177 834 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 755 751 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XIV

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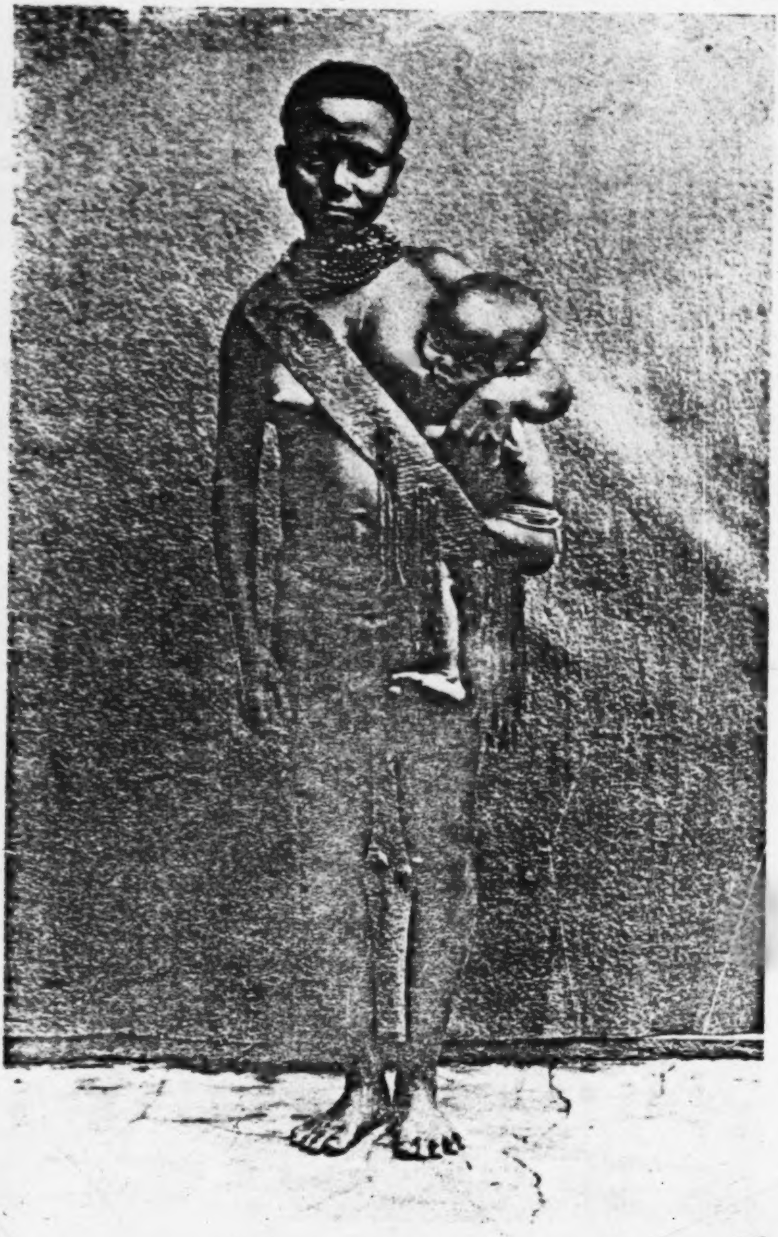

A woman with her child [p. 126A]

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as human bones, and ornaments made of them are commonly worn. 301

There are a number of other ornaments that are commonly worn, not only on ceremonial occasions, which, unlike the strings of human bones, do not obviously have a magical purpose. Such are necklaces made of various kinds of shells, and of mangrove seeds. At the present time the natives obtain beads from Port Blair and make ornaments of these. 301

The ordinary costume of the women is different from that of the men. Every woman and girl wears at least one belt of *Pandanus* leaf. There is one kind of belt that is always worn by married women and which may not be worn by unmarried girls. There is another kind of belt that may only be worn by unmarried girls. The women of the Southern tribes wear a bundle of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over another suspended from the front of the belt so as to cover the pudenda. In the Northern tribes it was formerly the custom for the women to wear a similar apron of the leaves of a plant called *čainyo*, and over this they also wore a tassel of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*). Within recent years the Northern tribes have given up their own custom in this matter and have adopted the custom of the Southern tribes. 291

Women often wear round the neck a piece of string similar to that worn by the men, but as they do not carry knives it does not serve the same purpose. It is more usual for a woman to wear a necklace of some sort. Nowadays they are rather fond of necklaces of beads which they obtain from the Settlement at Port Blair. In former times different kinds of shells were used, such as the *Dentalium octogonum*. 301

With the exception that men wear the belt of rope, and women wear the belt of *Pandanus* leaf and the apron of leaves, there is no difference between the ornaments worn by men and by women. On the occasion of a dance or other ceremony a woman may wear any of the objects described as being worn by men on such occasions. They also wear in the same way strings of human or animal bones.

One object which would seem to have a purely utilitarian purpose is the sling used for carrying children (called in *Aka-* 301
482

● 301 482 *Jeru čiba*). This object, however, seems to have its ceremonial uses also. In one of the initiation ceremonies that I saw, the man who was officiating wore such a sling round his shoulders during the ceremony.

535 In the earlier parts of this chapter reference has been made several times to the dance of the Andaman Islanders. For the natives the dance is both a means of enjoyment and also a ceremony. The period of mourning for the dead is brought to a close by a dance, in which all the mourners join. As will be shown later, a dance was generally held before a fight, in former times when fights occurred. The ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another was a dance.

In the initiation ceremonies there are special dances, which have already been described, in connection with the pig-eating and turtle-eating ceremonies. With the exception of these special dances, and the peace-making dance to be described later, there is only one kind of dance in any given tribe. Thus the dance at the end of mourning, or before setting out on an attack on enemies, is in all essentials exactly the same as the dance in which the natives indulge when the day's hunting has been successful and the evening is fine.

The time for dancing, except in connection with certain ceremonies, is at night, after the evening meal. The dance takes place on the open ground in the centre of the village. This is swept clean by the women and the younger men. One or two fires are lighted, and little heaps of resin are placed in convenient situations to provide lights. These have to be replenished from time to time as the dance proceeds. Near one end of the [534] dancing ground is placed a sounding-board, upon which it is the duty of one man to beat time with his foot. A sounding-board is a piece of wood somewhat of the shape of a large shield, cut from the hard *Pterocarpus* tree. One is shown in Plate VI. Behind the sounding-board, or a little to one side of it, the women, who form the chorus, sit in a row, with their legs stretched out in front of them, facing the dancing-ground. The men who intend to dance sit or stand round the edge of the space reserved for the dance.

533 composes his own songs. No one would ever sing (at a dance) a song composed by any other person. There are no traditional songs. Women occasionally compose songs, but I never heard a woman sing at a dance except in the chorus.

Every man composes songs, and the boys begin to practise themselves in the art of composition when they are still young. A man composes his song as he cuts a canoe or a bow or as he paddles a canoe, singing it over softly to himself, until he is satisfied with it. He then awaits an opportunity to sing it in public, and for this he has to wait for a dance. Before the dance he takes care to teach the chorus to one or two of his female relatives so that they can lead the chorus of women. He sings his song, and if it is successful he repeats it several times, and thereafter it becomes part of his repertory, for every man of any age has a repertory of songs that he is prepared to repeat at any time. If the song is not successful, if the chorus and dancers do not like it, the composer abandons it and does not repeat it. Some men are recognized as being more skilful song-makers than others.

The songs all deal with everyday subjects such as hunting or cutting a canoe. The important thing about a song is not its sense, but its sound, i.e., its rhythm and melody. A translation of an *Akar-Bale* song, which is quite typical, is "*Po̧io*, the son of *Mam Golat*, wants to know when I am going to finish my canoe. He comes every day. That is why I make haste to get it launched as soon as possible." Another on the same subject runs: "Knots are very hard to cut with an adze. They blunt the edge of the adze. How hard I am working cutting these knots." The singer here refers to the cutting of a canoe. A number of songs in the native languages with translations, are given by Mr Portman[1]. To these the reader may refer for further information.

535 628 301 According to the statements of the natives it was formerly the custom to have a dance before setting out to a fight. There was no special war-dance, the warriors joining in an ordinary dance such as has just been described. Those who intended

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[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, pp. 166—188.

535 628 •301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the [789] back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or 682 in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by 784 himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purifica- [783] tion ceremony. His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tǫl-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

X 182 535 some importance, such as a war-dance, or a dance of two groups together, the dancers decorate themselves by putting on various ornaments and by painting their bodies with red paint and white clay. The explanation of the dance cannot therefore be regarded as complete till we have considered the meaning of this personal adornment connected with it.

X 182 535 ● 301 If the Andaman Islander be asked why he adorns himself for the dance, his reply is invariably that he wishes to look well, to improve his personal appearance. In other words his conscious motive is personal vanity.

302 One of the features of the dance, and a not unimportant one, is that it offers an opportunity for the gratification of personal vanity. The dancer, painted, and hung over with ornaments, becomes pleasantly conscious of himself, of his own skill and agility, and of his striking or at least satisfactory appearance, and so he becomes also conscious of his relation to others, of their admiration, actual or possible, and of the approval and good-will that go with admiration. In brief, the ornamented dancer is pleasantly conscious of his own personal value. We may therefore say that the most important function of any such adorning of the body is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual.

Y 182 301 302 This explanation only applies to certain bodily ornaments and to certain ways of painting the body. It applies to the painting of white clay, with or without red paint, that is adopted at dances and on other ceremonial occasions. It applies to such personal ornaments as those made of netting and *Dentalium* shell which constitute what may be called the ceremonial costume of the Andamanese. It is of these that the natives say that they use them in order to look well.

The occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom. In other words the society dictates to the individual when and how he shall be permitted to express his own personal value. It is obvious that personal vanity is of great importance in directing the conduct of the individual in his dealings with his fellows, and much more amongst a primitive people such as the Andamanese than amongst ourselves, and it is therefore necessary that the society should have some means of

controlling the sentiment and directing it towards social ends. 182x
We have seen that the dance is the expression of the unity and
harmony of the society, and by permitting at the dance the free 301
expression of personal vanity the society ensures that the indi- 302
vidual shall learn to feel, even if only subconsciously, that his
personal value depends upon the harmony between himself and
his fellows.

The bride and bridegroom are painted with white clay, and wear ornaments of *Dentalium* shell on the day following their marriage. We have seen that marriage involves a change of social status, and we may say that it gives an increased social value to the married pair, the social position of a married man or woman being of greater importance and dignity than that of a bachelor or spinster. They are, after marriage, the objects of higher regard on the part of their fellows than they were before. It is therefore appropriate that the personal value of the bride and bridegroom should be expressed so that both they themselves and their fellows should have their attention drawn to it, and this is clearly the function of the painting and ornaments.

After the completion of any of the more important of the initiation ceremonies, such as the eating of turtle, the initiate is painted with white clay and red paint and wears ornaments of *Dentalium* shell. This is exactly parallel to the painting of the bride and bridegroom. The initiate, by reason of the ceremony he has been through, has acquired new dignity and importance, and by having fulfilled the requirements of custom has deserved the approval of his fellows. The decoration of his body after the ceremony is thus the expression of his increased social value.

A corpse, before burial, is decorated in the same manner as 182x
the body of a dancer. This, we may take it, is the means by
which the surviving relatives and friends express their regard for 302
the dead, i.e. their sense of his value. We need not suppose that 764
they believe the dead man to be conscious of what they are
doing. It is to satisfy themselves that they decorate the corpse,
not to satisfy the spirit. When a man is painted he feels that he
has the regard and good-will of his fellows, and those who see
him, at any rate in the instance of a bridegroom or initiate,

X 182 302 764 realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

X 182 ●301 535 832 Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general

connection of great importance between the affective dispositions 182x
underlying these and other customs and the complex affective 301 ●
disposition that we call the sex instinct. The nature of that 535
connection, important as it is, lies outside the scope of this 832
work.

I remarked above that the explanation which I have given of 182x
the meaning of personal ornament does not apply to all the 301
objects that the Andaman Islanders wear on their body, but
only to certain of them. If an Andaman Islander be asked why 151
he paints himself with white clay, or why he wears a belt or necklace of *Dentalium* shell he replies that he does so in order to look well; but if he be asked why he wears a string of human bones round his head or neck or waist, he gives quite a different answer, to the effect that he does so in order to protect himself from dangers of a special kind. According to circumstances he will say either that he is wearing the bones to cure himself of illness, or else that he wears them as a protection against spirits. Thus while some things are worn on the body in order to improve the personal appearance, and consequently, as explained above, to give the individual a sense of his own value, others are worn because they are believed to have a protective power, and thereby arouse in the person a sense of security. Exactly the some sort of protective power is attributed to things that cannot be worn on the body, such as fire, and it will therefore be convenient to consider together all the things that afford this kind of protection, whether they can be worn on the body or not.

The interpretation here offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence. In such a primitive society as that of the Andamans one of the most powerful means of maintaining the cohesion of the society and of enforcing that conformity to custom and tradition without which social life is impossible, is the recognition by the individual that for his security and well-being he depends entirely upon the society. Now for the Andaman Islander the society is not sufficiently concrete and particular

X 182 •301 751 to act as the object of such a sentiment, and he therefore feels his dependence upon the society not directly but in a number of indirect ways. The particular way with which we are now concerned is that the individual experiences this feeling of dependence towards every important possession of the society, towards every object which for the society has constant and important uses.

X 182 751 372 The most prominent example of such an object is fire. It may be said to be the one object on which the society most of all depends for its well-being. It provides warmth on cold nights; it is the means whereby they prepare their food, for they eat nothing raw save a few fruits; it is a possession that has to be constantly guarded, for they have no means of producing it, and must therefore take care to keep it always alight; it is the first thing they think of carrying with them when they go on a journey by land or sea; it is the centre around which the social life moves, the family hearth being the centre of the family life, while the communal cooking place is the centre round which the men often gather after the day's hunting is over. To the mind of the Andaman Islander, therefore, the social life of which his own life is a fragment, the social well-being which is the source of his own happiness, depend upon the possession of fire, without which the society could not exist. In this way it comes about that his dependence on the society appears in his consciousness as a sense of dependence upon fire and a belief that it possesses power to protect him from dangers of all kinds.

The belief in the protective power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away the spirits that cause disease and death. This belief, it is here maintained, is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts, for if it is true we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis.

X 182 751 411 In their daily life the Andamanese depend on the instrinsic qualities of the materials they use for their bows and arrows and

X 182 751 824 dwellers live entirely in the forest and have dealings with forest things; they develop knowledge and powers that make them better woodsmen than the coast-dwellers. The latter live by the sea and are chiefly occupied with things of the sea, being skilled in the occupations of fishing and canoeing. There is thus a contrast or opposition between the life of the forest and the life of the shore that runs through all the social life, and I believe that it is this opposition which explains the belief that the *Anadendron* and the *Gnetum*, which are essentially forest things, are possessed of a quality that makes them contrary or opposed to all things of the sea.

X 182 751 824 301 ● Personal ornaments are made from the fibres that have been mentioned (*Hibiscus*, *Anadendron*, *Gnetum*), and we are justified, I think, in regarding such ornaments as being to some extent amulets. I purchased from a man in the Little Andaman a charm that was hanging round his neck, which he seemed to value highly. I imagined that it might contain a human bone, but when I had unwound the ornamental thread with which it was bound and opened out the covering of bark I found inside the parcel only a carefully folded length of rope made from *Hibiscus* fibre.

There is one fibre from which the natives of the Great Andaman make themselves ornaments, which they do not regularly use in any other way, namely that of the *Ficus laccifera*. We may perhaps regard this as a genuine and demonstrable example of a survival in custom. The natives of the Little Andaman, who, until their recent contact with those of the Great Andaman, did not know the use of the *Anadendron*, use the fibre of the *Ficus* for their bow-strings. We are justified in assuming, I believe, that the natives of the Great Andaman made a similar use of the same fibre before they had learnt to use the *Anadendron*. In those days much of the power that is now attributed to the *Anadendron*, because of its service as the material for bow-strings, must then have been attributed to the *Ficus*. When the substitution of the superior *Anadendron* fibre came about, the belief in the efficacy of the *Ficus* did not disappear, although the ground of the belief (if we may call it so) had ceased to exist. If this be so, then the present use of the *Ficus* fibre as an amulet

is an example of survival. It may be noted that the qualities of 182x
the *Ficus* are supposed to be similar to those of the *Anadendron*. 751
Thus while one medicine-man stopped a storm with *Anadendron*, 824
another did the same thing on another occasion with *Ficus*. 301 ●

The above examples are sufficient to justify the generalisation that the Andamanese attribute protective power to all those 182x
substances on the strength and other qualities of which they 751
rely in order to obtain their food or overcome their enemies. There are one or two other positive instances that have not been mentioned. Bees'-wax, which is used for waxing thread and bow-strings, is believed to have power to keep spirits away and to cure sickness. Cane, which is used by the natives for many different purposes, seems also to have its use as an amulet, for belts and other personal ornaments are made of pieces of cane attached to a length of rope.

Negative instances are more difficult to discover. When I was in the Andamans I had not formulated the explanation that is offered here, and I therefore did not make any search for negative instances that might have afforded a means of testing the value of the hypothesis. I have no satisfactory evidence that protective power is attributed to iron, or to the shells that were formerly used, as iron now is, for the heads and barbs of arrows, but it is quite possible that I may have overlooked evidence that was really there. I do not think that any particular protective properties are attributed to such things as the materials from which baskets are made and the clay that is used for pottery. These things, however, may be regarded as luxuries rather than necessities; they are not of the same immediate service to the society in its fundamental activity (that of providing food) as are weapons and the materials used in them.

There are still two important kinds of amulets that remain to be considered. First, protective power is attributed to the bones of animals, which are made into personal ornaments; these cannot be dealt with until we have considered some of the beliefs relating to food. Secondly, a very high degree of protective power is attributed to human bones, but the discussion of this belief must wait till we have discovered the meaning of the funeral customs of the Andamanese.

contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community. 182x 778

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual. 182x 304 301 ● 302

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments. 182x 304

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we 182x 302

(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value 182x
of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red 302
paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on 822
whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined.

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate 182x
the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the 301 ●
desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see 302
that these two motives are very intimately related and are really 304
both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some

X 182 intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate
302 that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both.
●301 There is the further example of red paint, which is combined
304 with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

X The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation
182 between the individual and the power present in the food he
302 has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white clay and red paint worn at a dance and after marriage and initiation is not only a means of display but is also protective. Both red paint and white clay are used to give protection in sickness, and they are similarly used in the purification of the hands of a homicide. Moreover we have seen, in reference to the word *ot-kimil*, that the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society. The few days following an initiation ceremony are definitely believed to be a period of danger for the initiate, and during this time the pattern of white clay and red paint must not be washed off but must be allowed to wear off. By the time the last traces of the pattern have disappeared the danger is considered to be over. There is evidence that the first few days of marriage are regarded as a period of danger. It would seem that the natives do attribute to the painting with white clay and red paint some power of protection, but this is hidden under the importance of such painting as a means of display. 182X 302

Of the various ornaments that are worn on the body some would seem to be worn almost solely for purposes of display, because they are pleasing to the eye. Such are the necklaces and other ornaments of small shells. It would seem that the same motive is also responsible for the use of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* of which the Andamanese are so fond. The ornaments of netting and shell seem to be worn primarily for display, but it is quite possible that some protective power is attributed to them, as to the paintings of white clay with which they are regularly worn. The belts of *Pandanus* leaf that are worn by women are a mark of the sex, and the style of belt worn differs with the social status of the woman. They thus serve to exhibit the special social value of the woman in so far as it depends upon her sex and her social status, but I believe that the Andamanese attribute to the belt and to the apron of leaves worn with it a power of protection against the special dangers to which women are believed to be subject. Ths is suggested by the use of the *Pandanus* leaf in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation[1]. I failed to discover any special ideas connected 182X 301

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[1] I am unfortunately obliged to leave a big gap in this chapter and in the book, owing to my inability to discuss the Andamanese notions about sex. The natives of 831

X 182 301 with the ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf that are sometimes worn by both men and women at dances. The ornaments that are worn primarily for their protective power are those made of human and animal bones and those of pieces of canes or of fibres of *Hibiscus* or *Ficus*. These are always made decorative by the addition of shells and yellow *Dendrobium* skin, and therefore besides their primary function also serve as means of display.

It is clear then that in the various methods of ornamenting the body the two chief motives that we have considered are so combined that they can hardly be estimated separately, and it is this mingling of motives that has led us to the final understanding of the meaning and social function of bodily ornament. Each of the different kinds of ornament serves to make manifest the existence of some special relation between the individual and the society, and therefore of some special relation between him and that system of powers on which the welfare of the society and of the individual depends. One of the most important aspects of the relation of the individual to the society is his dependence upon it for his safety and well-being and this is revealed in all painting and ornament worn for protection. But the society not only protects the individual from danger; it is the direct source of his well-being; and this makes itself felt in the customary regulation by which the use of the more important ornaments used for display is confined to occasions on which it is quite clear that his happiness is directly due to the society, such as a dance or feast. Thus the customs relating to the ornamentation of the body are of the kind that I have here called ceremonial. They are means by which the society exercises on

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831 the Great Andaman at the present time show an unusual prudery in their conversation and dealings with white men, but there is good reason to suspect that this is due to the influence of officers who have been in charge of the Andaman Home in former years. At the present time all the men except a few of the oldest in remote parts are very careful never to appear before a white man without some covering although formerly they wore nothing. In their conversation in the presence of a white man they are careful to avoid reference to sexual matters. The men of the Little Andaman who have not come under the influence of the Andamanese Homes, still go naked and unashamed, and indulge in obscene gestures and jokes. At the time I was in the Andamans I failed to realise the very great importance of a thorough knowledge of the notions of a primitive people on matters of sex in any attempt to understand their customs, and therefore failed to make the necessary enquiries.

appropriate occasions some of the important social sentiments, 182x
thereby maintaining them at the necessary degree of energy 301
required to maintain the social cohesion.

To complete the discussion of ornament in general it is 182x
necessary to refer very briefly to the ornamentation of objects 531
such as bows, canoes and baskets. Such ornamentation consists of (1) incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body, (2) painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.), (3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* (baskets, etc.), and (4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.). The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the social value of the person. Thus the pattern painted on a canoe with white clay and red paint is the same as that on the body of a dancer. It would seem, therefore, that the ornamentation of utensils is a means of expressing or marking the social value of the decorated object, and it might even be held that the application of ornament to utensils is really a matter of ceremonial. Just as a newly married man is painted with the snake pattern which wears off and is not renewed, so a new canoe or a new South Andaman bow is painted with the same pattern as soon as it is finished, and after this pattern wears off it is not renewed. It is the act of bringing a new canoe or bow into use that is the occasion of the ceremonial expression of its value, if we may so regard the painting. A new relation is established between the society and an object, which thereby acquires a special social value, just as a youth acquires a special new social value at the conclusion of one of the initiation ceremonies. This example is sufficient to show that at least there is nothing in the ornamentation of utensils that conflicts with the explanation of bodily ornament given in this chapter[1].

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[1] In order to carry the analysis further it would be necessary to consider in detail the whole question of the relation of art and ceremonial, and that of the social function of art which is involved in it, and also to deal with the notion of "value" as it appears in primitive societies. The material from the Andaman Islands is not suitable for the discussion of these problems.

the *Dendrobium* over two strands of *Hibiscus* fibre and then twisting these into a two-ply cord. 291

Necklaces and garters of string. Both men and women are often to be seen with a simple piece of string, usually of *Anadendron* fibre, tied round the neck or around the leg just below the knee. 301 ●

Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf. Every married woman always wears a belt of *Pandanus* leaf which she is never without for even a moment. When the belt she is wearing needs renewing she puts the new one on before taking the other off. To make such a belt two leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* are taken and cut to a sufficient length (about 20 cm.). The thorns at the edge of the leaf are removed by cutting off a strip of about 3 mm. wide from the edge, leaving a strip of leaf about 4 cm. broad. The two leaves are placed one on the other and are wound spirally round in three turns so as to give a belt of six thicknesses of leaf, the upper surface of the leaf being on the outside of the belt. The leaves are secured together by tying with thread at the back where the two ends just overlap. At the point where the leaves are tied one or two bundles of strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached with thread. The bundle is made of a number of strips of leaf about 90 cm. long and 2·5 cm. broad which are chewed in the mouth to make them soft and then placed together and served over with thread for about 12 cm. in the middle. Belts of this kind are generally worn by married women, but precisely similar belts are worn by men on certain ceremonial occasions. They are called *toto t'er-bua* in Aka-Jeru. 291

A very similar belt is made in exactly the same way save that the tassel of leaves at the back consists of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf instead of broad strips. This kind of belt is worn by women only. Examples may be seen in Plate IV (the lower belt of the two) and in Plate XVIII. It is called *toto t'er-nyarab* in Aka-Jeru.

A belt is made in much the same way out of *Pandanus* leaves split in half down the midrib, giving strips of about 2·5 cm. broad. Such belts have only a scanty tassel of thin strips of leaf at the back. They are worn by girls and women only. They are called *kudu* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another variety of belt is made of whole leaves in exactly the same way as the *toto t'er-bua* but has no tassel at the back. An example may be seen in Plate IV (the upper belt). It is worn by women.

Girdles are made of strips of *Pandanus* leaf of about 1·25 cm. broad without any tassel, but with strings of *Dentalium* shell attached at various points. A girdle of this kind is shown in Plate XV.

291 Girdles are also made by cutting a number of strips of leaf and softening them by chewing them in the mouth. These strips are laid together and either served over or marled with thread so as to make a girdle of round section. A tassel of leaves similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is attached to the back, and very frequently strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached at various points. Such a girdle may be worn by either men or women. It is called *toto t'er-ŋau* in Aka-Jeru.

Yet another kind of girdle is made by splitting *Pandanus* leaves into thin strips and making them into a kind of wrapped cord, one strip being wrapped spirally round one or more others by the same technique as that used in making bow-strings. A number of coils of strands made in this way are tied together with thread at various points and a tassel similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is added at the back. Such girdles are usually improved by the addition of a few pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell. They may be worn by either men or women. Their name in Aka-Jeru is *toto t'er-moi.*

•301 Ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf to be worn either round the leg just below the knee or round the wrist are made in exactly the same way as the belt called *toto t'er-bua*, each having a tassel of *Pandanus* leaf strips attached. Such garters and bracelets are worn at a dance by men.

Other ornaments for wearing round the wrist or knee when dancing are made by the same method as the girdle called *toto t'er-ŋau*, each having a tassel of strips of leaf.

Similar dancing ornaments are made by plaiting strips of leaf into a three-plait cord of the right length, a tassel of loose leaf strips being left at each end. These are tied round the wrist or knee.

Ornaments for the knee or wrist, such as those shown on the legs of the man in Plate XII, are made by winding spirally a narrow strip of leaf and sewing it. A number of pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached round it, and often strings are attached at the end of which small shells hang suspended which rattle against one another as the wearer walks or dances.

Chaplets or headdresses worn by men when dancing, and occasionally by women, are made of fairly broad strips of leaf in the same way as the *toto t'er-bua.* Such a chaplet may have a tassel of narrow strips of *Pandanus* leaf at the back to which are attached shells that rattle as the wearer moves, or it may have pendent strings of *Dentalium* shells round the hinder half of its circumference.

In making ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf such as the *toto t'er-bua* the upper surface of the strip of leaf is usually ornamented with a design scratched on it with a pointed piece of wood. The design usually covers not only the portion of leaf that is visible when the belt or other object is finished, but also that portion which is not visible, being underneath. Many ornaments of this kind are further decorated when finished with the composition used for covering the bindings of arrows, which is applied with a pointed stick in simple geometrical patterns. The woman shown in Plate x is wearing two belts that have been ornamented with composition in this way. 301

Woman's leaf apron. In the South Andaman the women wear a sort of small apron consisting of a number of leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* laid one over the other, the stalk ends of the leaves being tucked in between the layers of a belt of *Pandanus* leaf. The leaves thus hang suspended so as to cover, somewhat inadequately, the pudenda. The natives say that the leaves of the *Mimusops* are chosen because they remain green longer than those of any other species. As soon as the leaves fade and turn yellow they are renewed. The appearance of the leaf apron may be seen in Plates IV and XV. 291

The women of the North Andaman have within recent years adopted the fashion of those of the South Andaman in this matter, but formerly they made a similar use of a different kind of leaf from a plant called *čainyo* in Aka-Jeru, and over the top of the leaves they wore a tassel of the fibre called *kọro*.

Ornaments of netting and *Dentalium* shells. Bands of netting (in shape of a cylinder or bag open at both ends) are made of suitable size to tie round the waist, the neck, the leg below the knee or the wrist. Such netting is generally ornamented as it is being made with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in the net. Along the lower edge of the band of netting are attached a number of threads each having *Dentalium* shells strung on to it like beads. Ornaments of this kind are shown in Plates V and IX. They are worn by both men and women, but usually only on the occasion of a dance or some other ceremony. 301

Ornaments of bone, etc. These are made with human bones, with the bones of such animals as pig, turtle, dugong, *Paradoxurus*, monitor lizard, or with pieces of wood or cane, or of coral, of suitable shape. A length of cord, of the fibre of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or of the *Ficus laccifera*, is taken, and the bones are attached to it by thread. As a rule, strips of *Dendrobium* skin are worked in, being laid on the bone and bound over with the thread.

Ornaments of shell. Various kinds of shells are perforated and attached to string and are worn round the neck, the head, the knee, or the wrist. A necklace of fresh-water shells (*ino kọlo tọi* in Aka-Jeru) is shown in Plate IX. A necklace of small sea-shells is shown in Plate XIII. The favourite shell of the Great Andaman tribes is the *Dentalium octogonum*. The shells are collected from the shore by the women. The closed end of each is bitten off with the teeth and the shells, which thus form cylindrical beads, are strung on to a piece of thread. These strings of shell are worn as necklaces, as shown in Plates IV and XII, and are tied round the wrist and knee and ankle as shown in Plate IV.

Ornaments of seed. The seed-tops of two or three species of mangrove are collected and strung on to thread and worn round the neck. Fig. 40 shows the two kinds of mangrove seed commonly used in this way.

Bamboo necklaces. A necklace is sometimes made of a number of short pieces of bamboo arrow-shaft threaded on to a string. The pieces of bamboo are ornamented with simple designs scratched or cut on them with a shell.

Sling of bark. Another object that may perhaps be mentioned amongst objects of personal ornament is the sling used in carrying children. It is made of a broad strip of the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Some slings are covered entirely with netting, while others are ornamented with shells in various ways. Plate XIV shows one with strings of *Dentalium* shell sewn on to it.

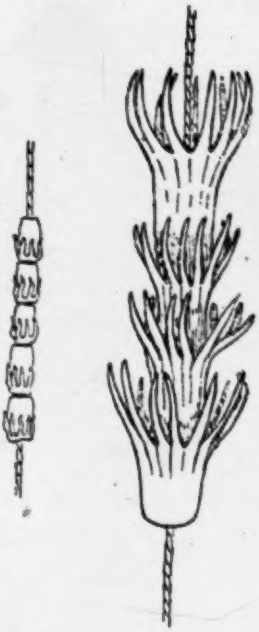

Fig. 40. Necklaces of mangrove seed-tops, Great Andaman

Dancing ornaments of *Tetranthera* wood. A piece of *Tetranthera* wood, usually part of the shaft of an old pig-arrow, about 30 to 35 cm. long, is taken and made into shavings with a *Cyrena* shell. The wood is shaved carefully round and round, so as to make a continuous sheet of fibre, as though unwinding a roll of material. A bundle of these shavings is tied at one end and covered with red paint, and forms an object that is carried in the hand or worn in the belt at dances.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; LITTLE ANDAMAN.

The personal ornaments of the Little Andaman and of the Jarawa are different from those of the Great Andaman Division, and therefore need to be described separately.

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Ornaments of bark. Strips of bark (? *Celtis cinnamonea*) are worn by the men round the waist and round the arm.

Ornamental cord. These are the ornaments most frequently met with both in the Little Andaman and amongst the Jarawa. The basis is a strip of cane, varying in breadth in different examples. On one side of this are laid strips of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*, varying in number according to the breadth of the cane, and the whole is served over or bound with thread. The technique in shown in Fig. 41, which represents diagrammatically the method adopted when there are two strips of *Dendrobium* skin. Such ornamental cord is made in pieces of considerable length. Often tassels of thread (of *Ficus hispida* fibre) are attached to it at intervals. The cord is worn wound round the waist, the neck, or the arm. Both men and women wear it.

Woman's girdle. In the Little Andaman this is made of a number of fine strips of cane tied together with thread. At the front is attached a tassel of fibre made from young unopened palm-leaves (the fibre called *kẹro* in Aka-Jeru).

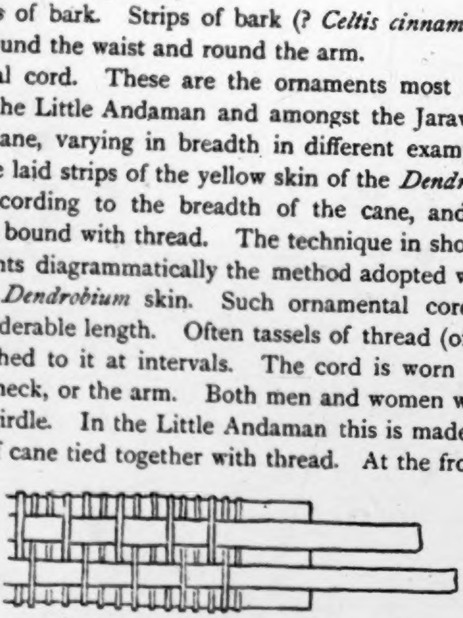

Fig. 41. Diagram showing method of making ornamental cord, Little Andaman

Woman's shoulder strap. The women of the Little Andaman wear a strip of bark over the shoulders, crossing over the chest and passing beneath the breasts.

The above brief description of the ornaments of the Andamanese is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of this appendix, which is to determine as far as possible the elements of a primitive Negrito culture. Any complete account of the subject would need a large number of figures and a discussion of many comparatively unimportant details. The first point of importance to be noted is that the personal ornaments of the Little Andaman Division differ markedly from those of the Great Andaman Division. One difference is that the *Pandanus* leaf, which is used so much and in so many ways in the Great Andaman,

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seems not to be used at all in the Little Andaman. Another is that shells, which are much used in the Great Andaman, are used to a far less extent in the Little Andaman. The natives of the Little Andaman told me that they sometimes make ornaments of *Dentalium* shell, but I did not see any such ornament, nor any other ornament of shell, in use. The ornaments of netting worn in the Great Andaman, and forming the usual dancing costume, seem not to be used in the Little Andaman. Finally, perhaps most important of all, there is at present no evidence that the natives of the Little Andaman make ornaments of either human or animal bones. In the Little Andaman the lower jaw of a child is preserved by the parents and is worn by them, but I never saw a human skull (whether of child or adult) so worn, and I was not able to obtain any evidence of the use of strings of human bones such as are constantly seen in a camp of the Great Andaman.

The points of similarity between the ornaments of the Little Andaman and those of the Great Andaman are very few. One of the most striking is the great use that is made in both divisions of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium*. It seems probable that here we have evidence of one element of a primitive Negrito culture, for the Negritos of the Philippines also are fond of using a yellow vegetable fibre for their personal ornaments. So far as it is possible to judge from the figure and description, the armlet given by Meyer in Plate III, No. 11, seems to be very similar to the ornamental cord of the Little Andaman. It is described as a "mit schwarz und gelben Grasstreifchen umflocktener Bambus-reif."

Another point of resemblance between the Great Andaman and the Little Andaman is that in both very little use is made of feathers or flowers. The natives of the Great Andaman never make use of the feathers of birds. The Jarawa occasionally wear in a chaplet a feather of the king-crow (*Dicrurus macrocercus*) if we may judge from a specimen in the British Museum. The natives of the Little Andaman certainly do not as a rule make any use of feathers. It would seem, from all accounts, that the Semang and the Philippine Negritos do not make any considerable use of feathers for personal ornament. We may perhaps hazard the conclusion that this is a mark of the Negrito culture distinguishing them from such people as the Papuans or Australians in whose personal ornaments the feathers of birds occupy an important place.

In the Great Andaman flowers are not used as personal ornaments. In the British Museum there is an ornament from the Little Andaman consisting of a strip of bark-fibre with a few flowers attached.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers. 301 171

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

HAIR-DRESSING, SCARIFICATION, AND BODY-PAINTING.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate XV, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice. 302

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gor*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do. 304 171

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine 302

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[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

502 deep water, by paddles (*wāl·igma-*[1]), the size of which is not determined by custom, but varies according to the whim of the maker and the size of the piece of wood (generally of the *Myristica longifolia*) at his disposal;[2] all, whether small or large, are used indiscriminately, either with the outriggers or simple "dug-outs;" paddles are never made by women, to whom, however, their ornamentation with *kòi·ob-* and *ká·ngatá-būj-* is afterwards entrusted.[3]

531 **Ornamentation.**—1. While the Andamanese habitually ornament their various utensils, weapons, &c., they never attempt to show their talent or originality by representing natural objects, or by devising a new pattern, but slavishly adhere to those which custom has prescribed for each article.[4]

2. These designs are executed by means of a *Cyrena* shell, or are painted in *kòi·ob-*, *tá·la-ōg-*, or *ká·ngatá-būj-*; occasionally they content themselves with smearing the entire surface of the object with either of the two first-named pigments, but more often a background is thus formed for the better display of further embellishments.

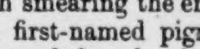
3. These three substances supply their only colours, *i.e.*: brick-red (*kòi·ob-*), white (*tá·la-ōg-*), and brown (*ká·ngatá-būj-*).

[301] 4. Small land and sea shells[5] (especially the *Dentalium octogonum*), certain seeds and bones are much prized, not only for making personal ornaments, but also for the adornment of weapons and implements, as well as the human skulls and jawbones which they often wear and carry about with them.

5. It may be added that the details of ornamentation are in most cases subordinate to the general form and outline of the object in question.

6. The following is believed to be a complete list of the designs,[6] both carved and painted, which are in use:—

I. CHEVRONS (*jō·bo-tàrtā·nga-*).



Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tá·la-ōg-* on bows, buckets, canoes, and paddles.

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[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 11*a*.

[2] Dr. Mouat states (p. 319) that they are made of three sizes, and (p. 320) that "the work of making them is entrusted solely to the women and children," but I have failed in discovering any foundation for these assertions.

[3] The canoes, too, are often similarly ornamented, especially when new.

[4] Of enamelling they possess no knowledge.

[5] Beads, when offered by us, are gladly accepted for use in lieu of small shells.

[6] When it is stated that all these designs are executed by means of pointed sticks, shells, or even the finger-tips, it is scarcely necessary to add that they fall far short of the neatness and mathematical precision characterising most of these illustrations, which therefore can only be taken as representing the particular pattern *attempted*.

the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1] 462 854

The plain specimens are called *chĭp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chĭp-rā·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chĭp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-.*[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back. 291

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jār·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-.*[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *ro·gun-.*[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-.*[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tō·go-chō·nga-.*[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-.*[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-.*[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:— 301

32. *ī·na-ō·la-tâ-*[10] .. made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* .. .. „ cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dĭ-tâ-*[11] .. „ turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-* .. „ paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12] .. „ iguana bones.

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[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* ..	made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ó·la-tâ-* ..	„ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] ..	„ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-*	„ mangrove seed tops.
41. *gar·en len pī·d-* ..	„ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462] 43. *rá-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751] 44. *chàu·ga-ta-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *chàu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *chàu·ga l'â·kà ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

412 47. *pī·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai·li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

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[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.

[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.

[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.

[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.

[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.

[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.

[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.

[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.

[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7*a*.

[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.

[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.

[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.

[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

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Plate D.

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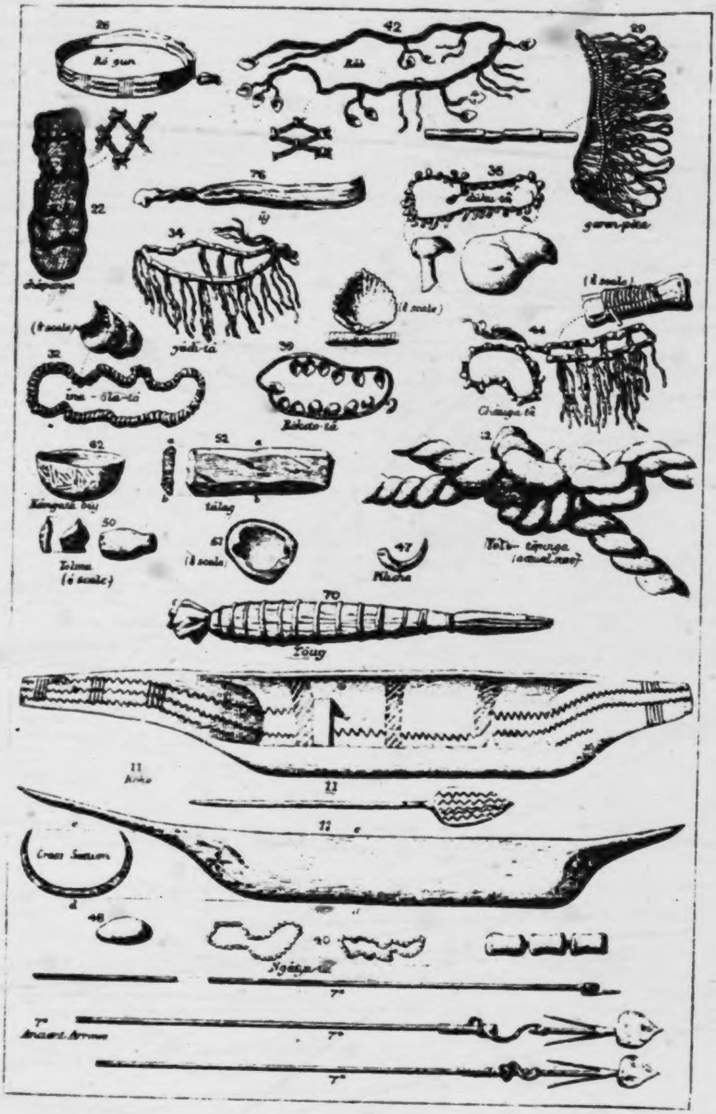
26
Rō gun
42
Rāb
29
garen-pēta
22
76
35
34
yādi-tā
(½ scale)
(½ scale)
(½ scale)
44
32
ūna - ōla-tā
39
Rokato-tā
Chauga-tā
62
Kāngatā bāg
52
tālag
12
Tōto-tēpnga
(actual size)
50
Tolma
(½ scale)
61
(½ scale)
47
70
Tōug
11
Rōko
11
11
Cross Section
48
40
7
Ancient Arrow
7
7

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

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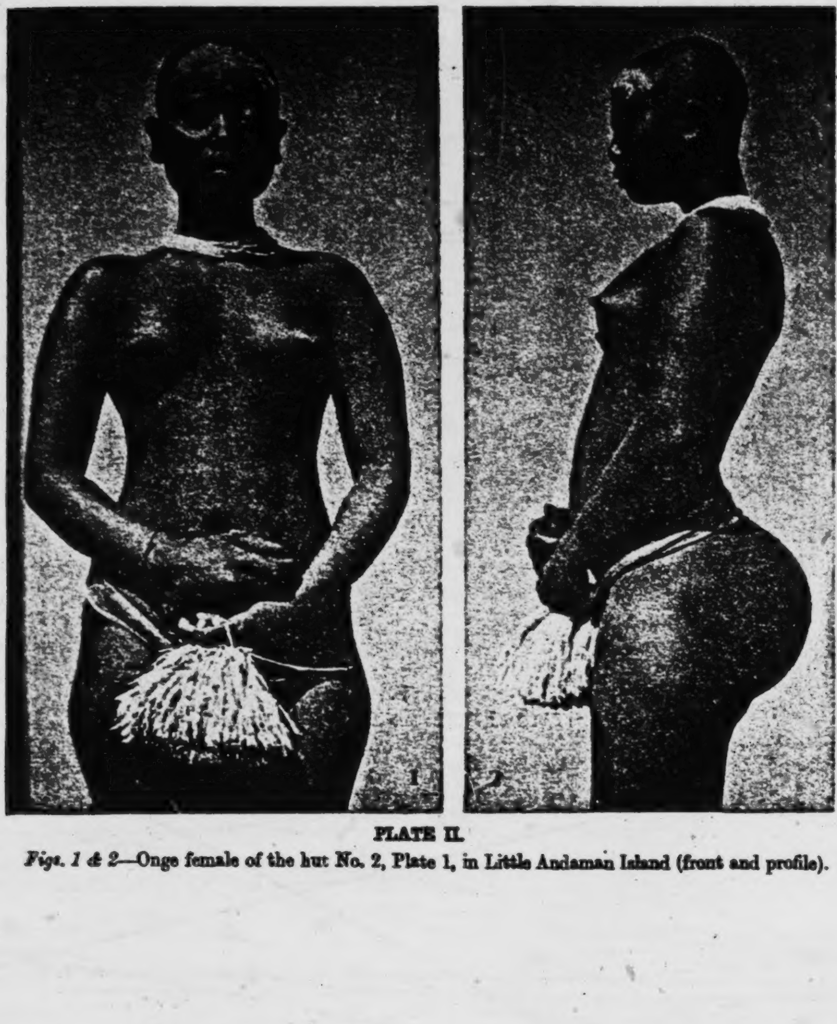

PLATE II.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge female of the hut No. 2, Plate 1, in Little Andaman Island (front and profile).

[P 4(B)]

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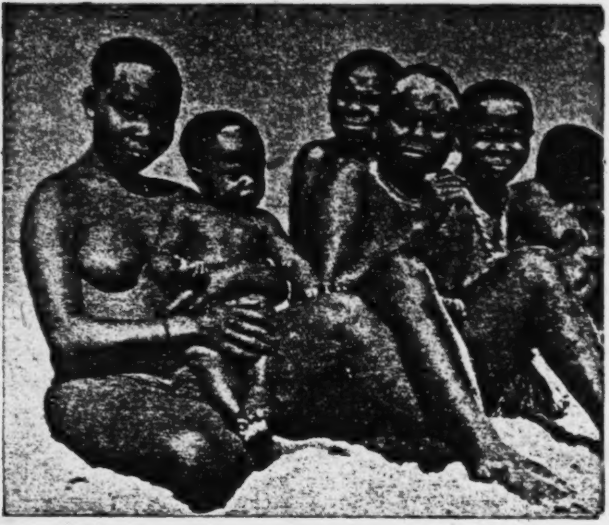

PLATE III

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

[P. 6 (C)]

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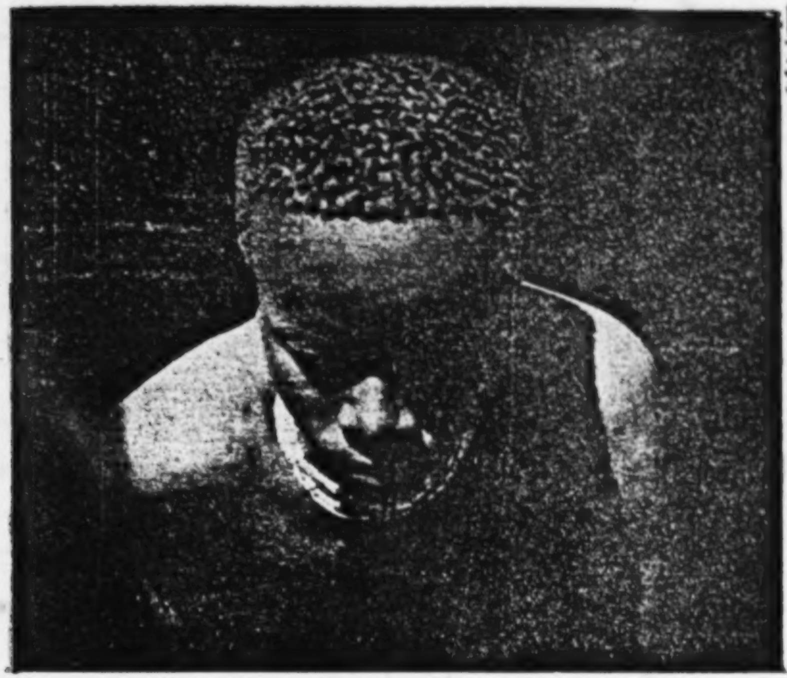

PLATE VII.
Onge male showing pepper-corn type of hair.

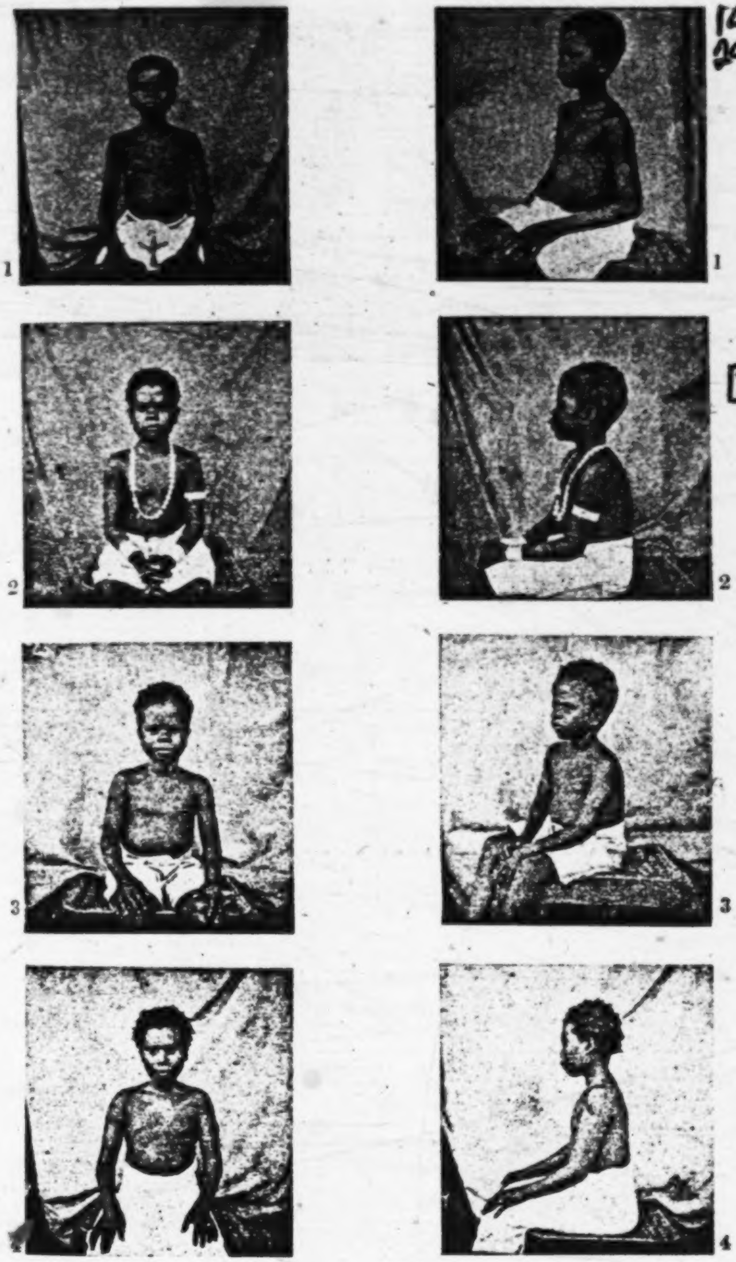

Plate IX. Captive Jarawa Children.
[P. 26(A)]

364 [361] spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the temporary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These [136] dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

136 [356] The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human 123 beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. 136 [825] As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

764 The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of 775 this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this [727] belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky [301 765] in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated [751] human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quar- [777] relling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can [171] trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin: Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

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[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (V[illegible]nna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

Lidio Cipriani, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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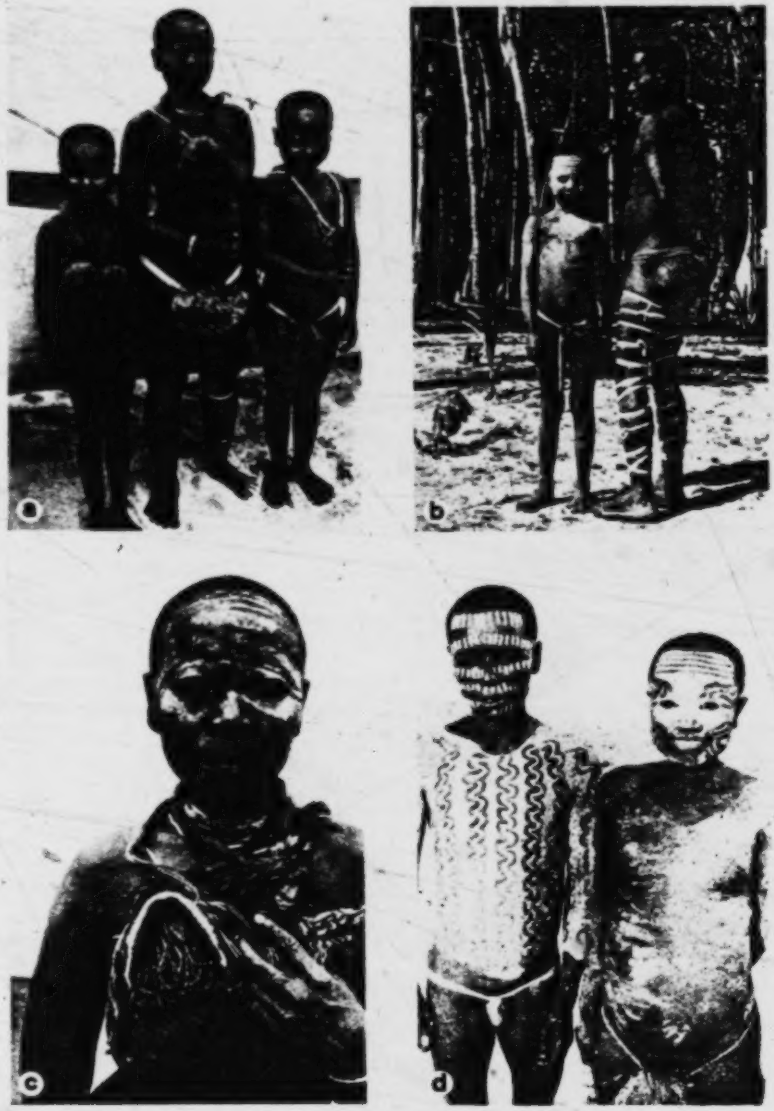

a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghē*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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Communal dinner of the Onges (Courtesy A. S. I.)

[facing p. 62]

Onges

157 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who
522 frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement.
157 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the
Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with
522 strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual
831 source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign
of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely
successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were
always peaceable and satisfactory.

302 An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without
[157] sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted
nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves
her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him.
[753] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days,
[751] as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and
[761] the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on
the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally
successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual
and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion.
[123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to
show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and
took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they
had no idea what it was for.

304 It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do
[171] not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the*
simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical
[184] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with
[302] tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre
instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and
301 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men
824 and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence
[184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for
long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has
led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual
tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little
Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only
men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the
men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

taste. The liquid content of these stems is so great that it makes 824
them extremely heavy to carry. These lianas are very common all 312
over the islands and anyone who knows them need never die of
thirst. To get at the liquid one only has to break the stem and put
it to one's mouth; if one puts a receptacle under the break, a litre
or so of liquid can be obtained in a matter of minutes. When the
first strangers came to the archipelago, the Andamanese watched
them tear down parts of the forest, including these lianas, and tried
in vain to protest at the vandalism. No one understood their
protests, but they were right.

The forest abounds in trees whose fruits in season form an important 824
source of food for the islanders. One is the so-called jackfruit, 262
Artocarpus communis, which here grows wild, though various [137]
species are cultivated all over Asia. The fruits, which appear on the
thickest branches as well as on the trunk, are smaller in the wild
variety, rarely weighing more than thirty grams, but the yield is
enormous and the islanders enjoy them for months, especially from
March to May. The Onges call them *bulundanghe*, and roast them in [252]
hot ashes till the hard pulp and seeds are eatable; the latter, the
size of a hazelnut but tougher, are the best part.

Another useful plant is the *Pandanus*, or screw-pine. On Little 137
Andaman extensive areas are covered with nothing else, making
progress very difficult owing to the twisting roots and the spines on
the long, tough leaves. It seems to prefer the coastal areas, particularly
the marshes, where it often grows into an impenetrable jungle.
There are at least two species, one of which is gregarious. The
other, which grows as isolated specimens, is longer leaved, with
bigger fruits and stems like candelabra, standing up on an arch of
roots, as though on stilts. With the leaves of this variety, fluted and 824
easy to arrange like roof tiles, the Onges can quickly improvise a 381 ●
waterproof covering. The young leaves provide them with ornaments 262
which they wear for their dances, while the pulp of the fruit,
which looks rather like a pineapple, perfumed and delicately
flavoured, is nutritious though somewhat stringy.

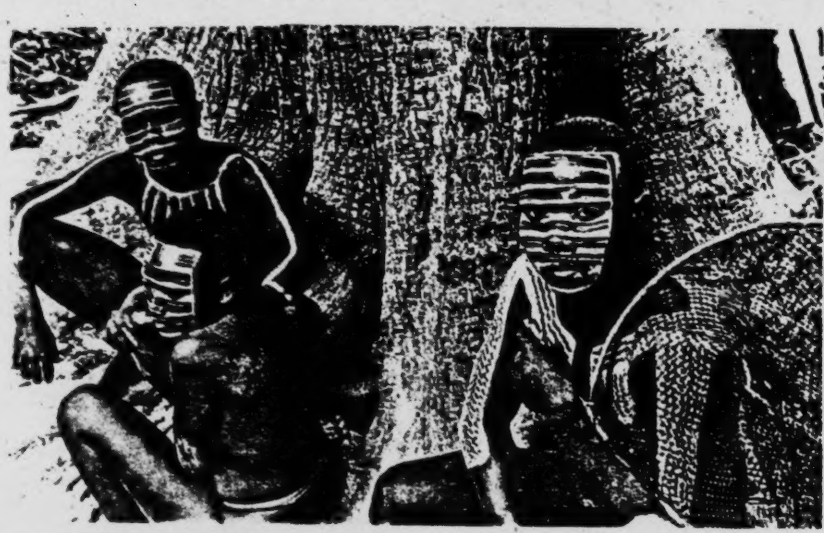
Along the coasts where there are no *Pandanus*, one very often sees 137
something very different – mangroves. The islanders use the wood [824]
for their canoe floats, and for fixing pegs (see p. 122) and the supply [396]
is unlimited, as the growth and spread of the mangroves are assured
by a number of factors which have made them one of the best

night. Everything else stops. *Bulundangbe* are food enough, and even 222
honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests [262]
to come. Life is good!

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women [171] spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *gbine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges
cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make [301] ●
necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, [824]
even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Gbine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.



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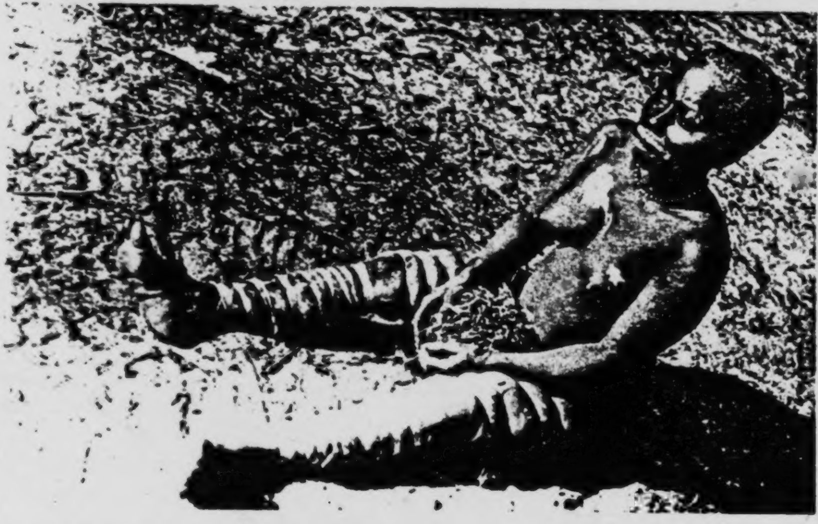

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe

4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease

2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing p. 66, C]

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[facing P.66, I] /13 Mother and child/

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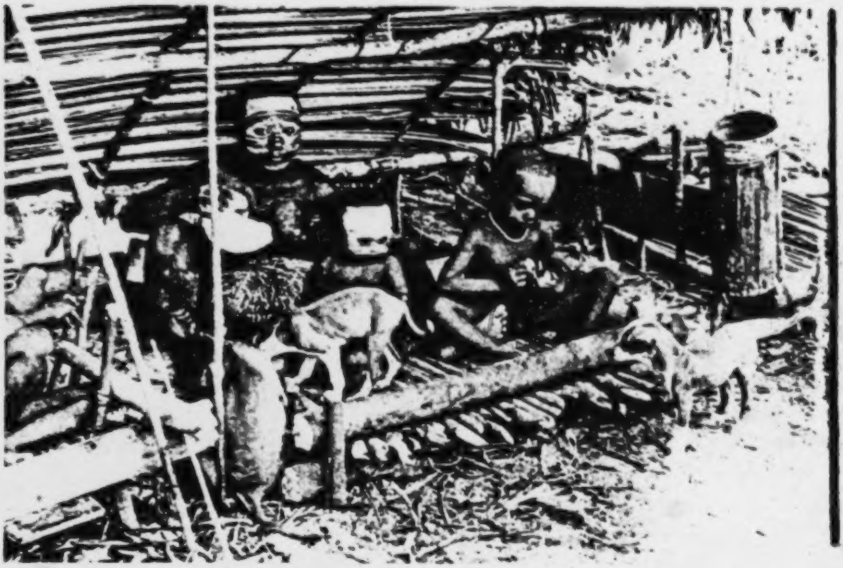
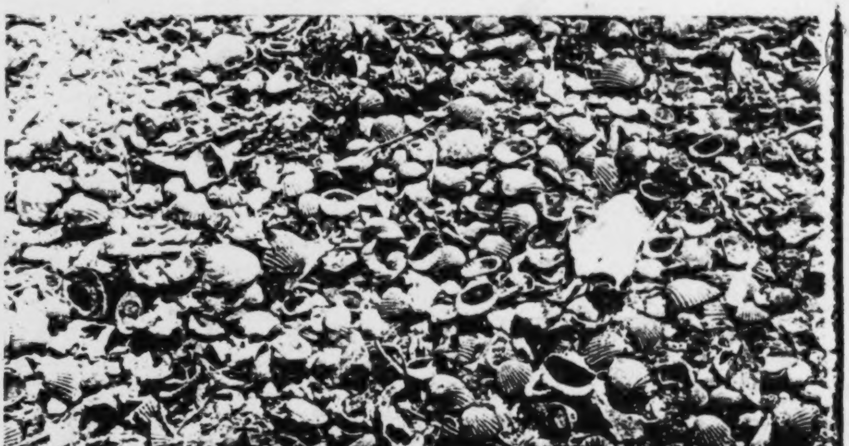


18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

172



[Facing p. 67]

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622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed
837 beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the
585 woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[194] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living
194 apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

172
15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

● 301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

172
17 RELIGION

775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ

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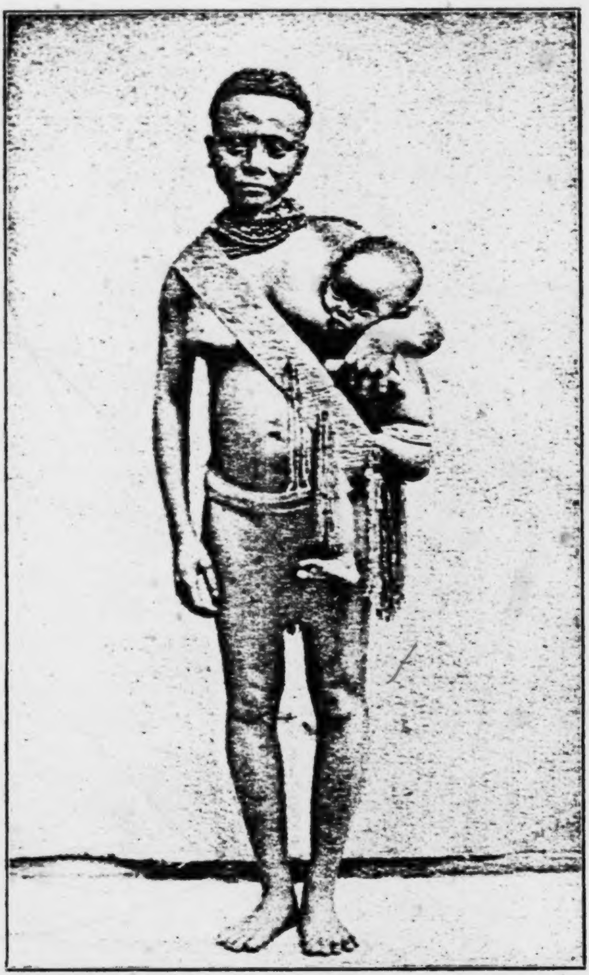

Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.

302

302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hair styles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Electrical appliances	403	Bathing and laving	515
Combs, brushes, etc.	412	Decorative art	531
Barbering tools	413	War paint	714
Elimination	514	Menstrual hygiene	841

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P. 28A]

PLATE III

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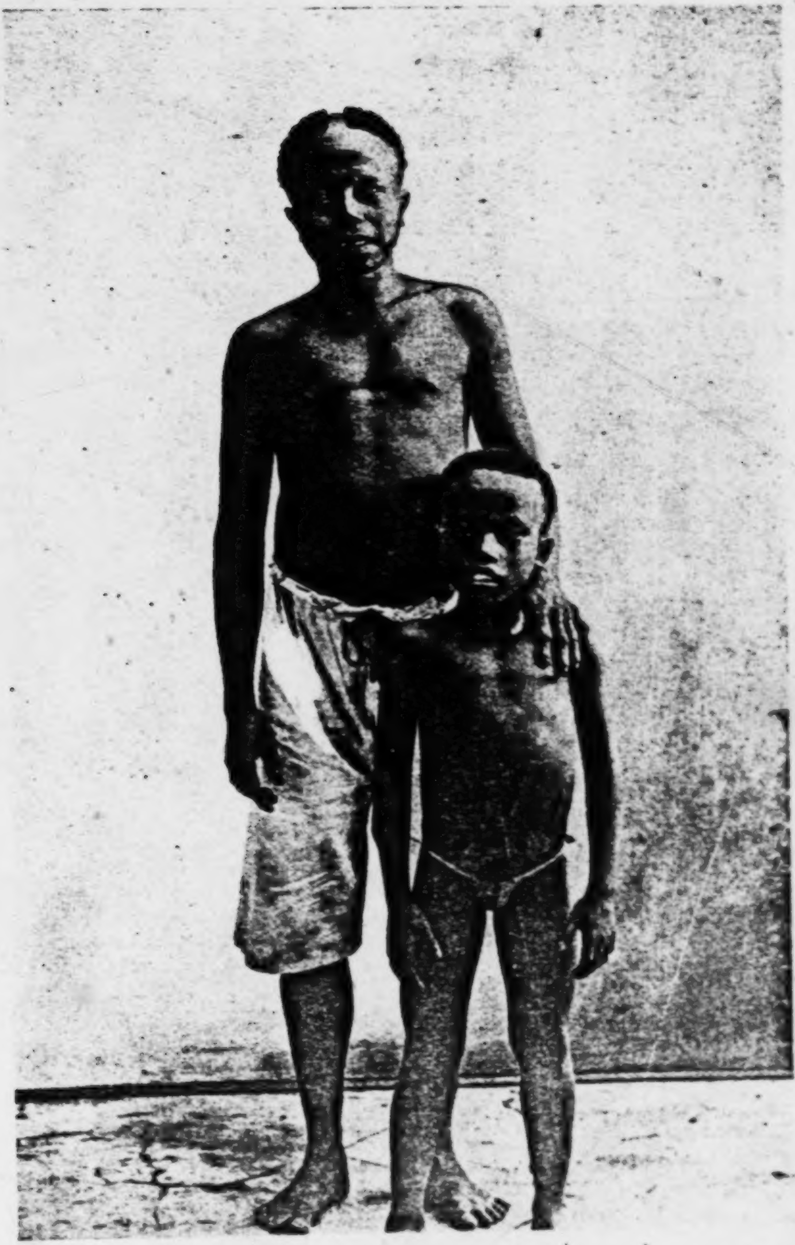

A man of the North Andaman and his son. (The man's height is 1438 mm., 4 feet 8 inches)

The essentials

of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tol*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII. 765 302

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages, and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name. 765 551

During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain 765

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908) 1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE IX

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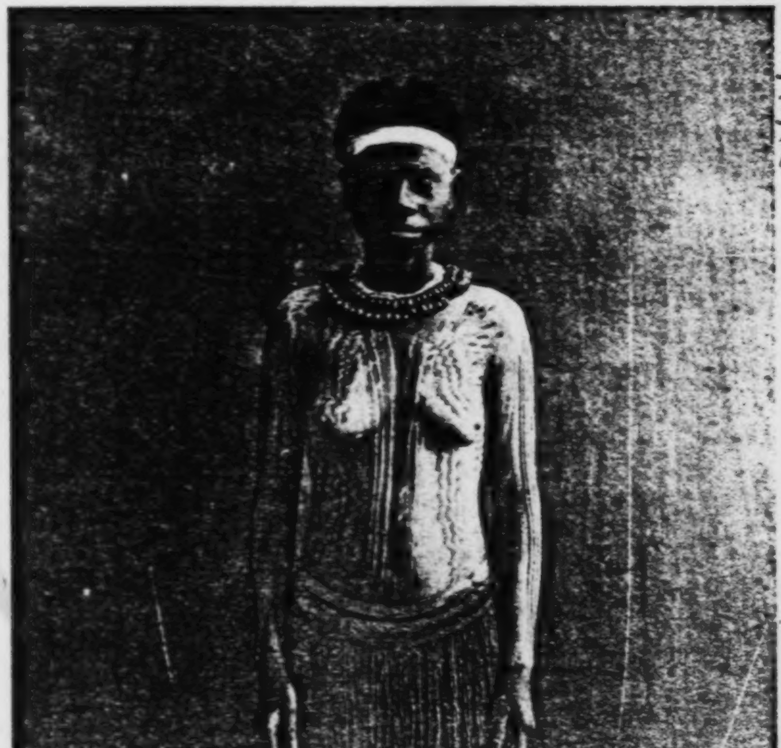

Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120A]

PLATE X

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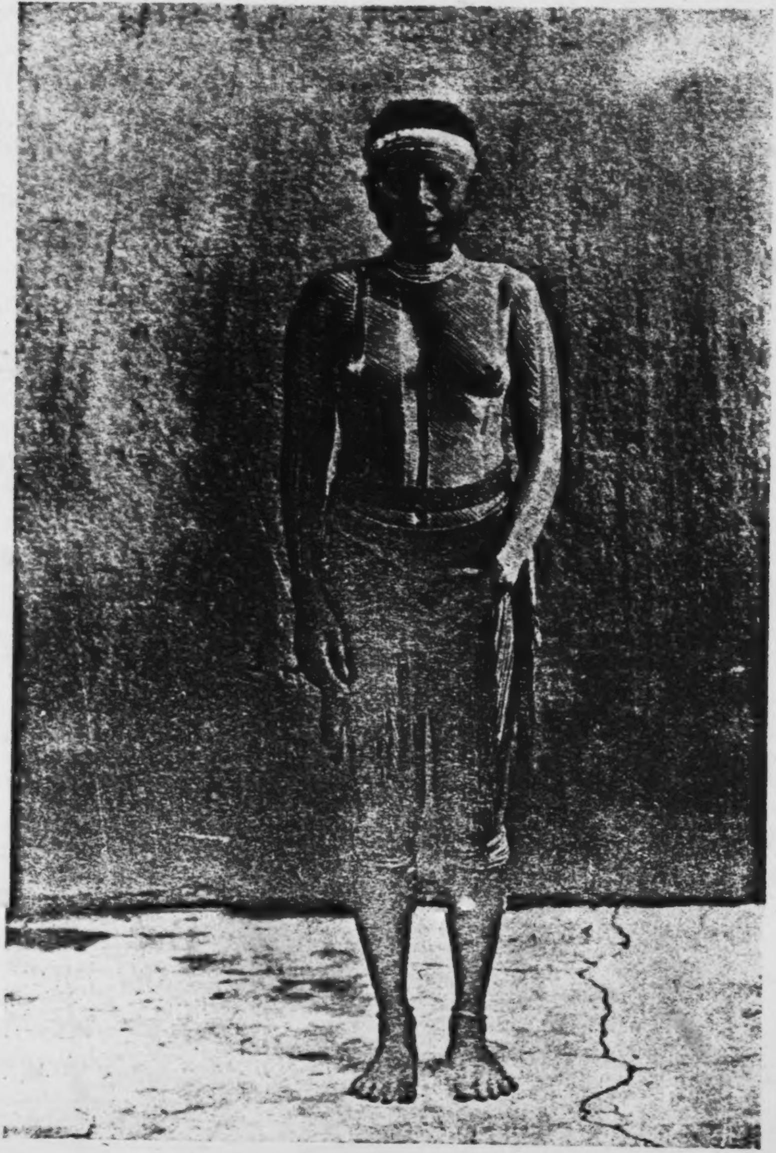


Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

either by itself, or prefixed to the name of the person spoken to, 551
as *Maia Buio*, *Mimi Kaba*, etc. A native generally hesitates to tell his own name, and if asked the question "What is your name?" often asks a bystander to give the required information. There is, however, no hesitation about mentioning the name of any other person, except under certain special conditions.

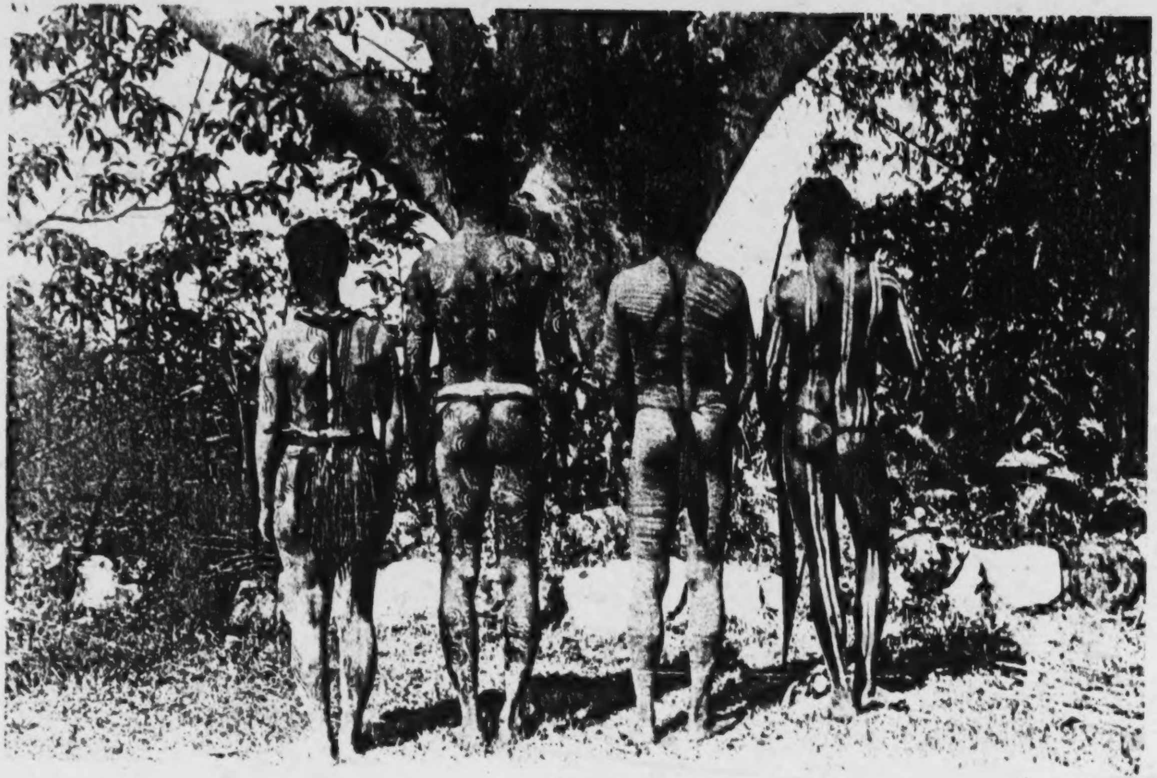
There are certain occasions when the name of a man or 551
woman is temporarily avoided. After the death of a relative
and during the period of mourning, a mourner's name is not 784
mentioned, either in speaking to him or of him. There are a few terms that may be used instead. One who has lost a parent is addressed as *Bolok*, one who has lost a brother or sister as *Ropuč*. For a short time before and after the birth of a child the names of the father and mother are not mentioned. A bride and bridegroom are not addressed or spoken of by name for a short period after their marriage, though if their names be A and B there seems to be no harm in referring to A as "the husband of B," or to B as "the wife of A." During the initiation ceremonies through which every boy and girl must pass, the name of the initiate is avoided. Thus on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony, during the few days the ceremony lasts and for a few weeks afterwards, the youth or girl is never addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Kimil*. During the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of the advent of puberty, and for some weeks after, a girl is not spoken of or to either by her birth-name or her flower-name, but is called *Toto*. When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*.

The name of a dead man or woman is not mentioned during the period of mourning, which lasts for some months after the death.

In the preceding portions of the chapter reference has been 302
made several times to the ornamentation of the body with clay and pigment. In the Great Andaman three different substances are used for painting the body. These are (1) a common clay of which different specimens are gray, yellow or pink, called *odu*

PLATE XI

[facing p. 122]



Three men and a young woman decorated with *odu* clay

302 in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*; (2) a fine white pipe-clay which is rarer than the common clay and is more highly prized, called *tọl* or *tọl-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*; (3) a red pigment made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with animal or vegetable fat or oil, called *keyip* in *Aka-Jeru* and *kọiob* in *Aka-Bea*.

The common clay (*odu*) is used in three different ways. After the death of a relative a man or woman smears himself all over with this clay and plasters it on his head. From this custom a person who is mourning for a dead relative is called *aka-odu* in *Aka-Jeru* or *aka-og* in *Aka-Bea*. The same clay is used at a certain stage of the initiation ceremonies, as described above, being spattered over the initiate in the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The third and most common use of this clay is to decorate the bodies of men and women with patterns called (in *Aka-Jeru*) *ẹra-puli*. These patterns are always made by the women, who decorate each other and their male relatives. The clay is mixed with water in a wooden dish or a shell and the mixture is applied to the body with the fingers. There is an almost indefinite variety in the patterns employed, although there are a certain number of what may be called usual designs. Each woman vies with others in her endeavours to produce some novelty of detail in her designs, and a successful innovation is immediately copied by others. I was able to watch the rise and development and ultimate disappearance of "fashions" in this connection in one of the camps of the North Andaman.

The design is made in one of two ways. It may, in some cases, be formed by painting with the finger on the body, that is by tracing white (or gray) lines on a black surface. A design of this kind is shown on the back of the man on the right in the photograph of Plate XI. On the other hand, an equally common method is to cover a part of the body with an even smear of clay and then to scrape it away either with the fingers or with a small fish-bone or with a little instrument made of small strips of bamboo, so as to leave a design of black lines where the skin shows through the smeared clay. Two not very striking designs of this kind are shown in Plates IX and X. As a rule the designs are more or less symmetrical, the right

302 and the left sides of the body being treated alike, but in a few cases different patterns are made on the two sides, and I have seen a man with one side of his body painted and the other not. The painting may cover the whole of the body and limbs with the exception of the hands and feet, or it may be confined to the front and back of the trunk, or it may be on the front only. The face is often painted, the designs being made with greater care than those on the body.

These patterns are made in the afternoon after the men return from their day's hunting, and always either just before or just after a meal.

If a man be asked what pattern he is painted with, he replies by mentioning the food that he has just eaten. A man who has been eating turtle will say that the painting on his body is *čokbi-t’e̱ra-puli*, turtle pattern, while if he has been eating pork he will call it *ra-t’e̱ra-puli*, pig pattern. There is not, however, a strict uniformity in the use of particular patterns in connection with special foods. When the whole camp has been feasting on turtle many different and (apparently) unrelated designs are to be seen on the bodies of the men and women. I did not find it possible, even after a study of the matter, to distinguish by means of the design a man who has been eating turtle from one who has been eating pork. There is one design, or group of closely related designs, that seemed to be based on the pattern of the plates on a turtle's carapace. A pattern of this distinctive kind was never, so far as my experience went, used except after eating turtle. Other patterns, however, which were used after eating turtle, did not seem to me to be related in any way to what I may call the specific turtle pattern. In some of the patterns used after eating pork I noticed a tendency to make use of vertical lines or bands on the back and chest. There may be a connection here with the longitudinal markings on the back of the wild pig.

Of special patterns I was only able to discover two. One of these is called *kimil-t’e̱ra-puli* and is only used to paint a person who is *aka-kimil*, i.e., who has just been through one of the initiation ceremonies. This pattern is shown on the back of a man in the photograph reproduced as Plate XI (the second figure from the left). Another special pattern is called *toto-t'e̱ra-puli* (*Pandanus* pattern), and is used, I believe, to decorate a girl after the ceremony at her first menstruation.

The fine white clay called *to̱l-odu* in *Aka-J̌eru* is used in a different way and on different occasions. When it is used to ornament the body it is always applied in one customary pattern. The name of this pattern in *Aka-J̌eru* is *o̱r-čubi-t'e̱ra-bat*, from the name of a species of snake, *o̱r-čubi*. Exactly the same name is used in *A-Pučikwar*, *wara-čupi-l'ar-par*. Mr Man gives the *Aka-Bea* name as *ǰobo-tartaŋa*, from *ǰobo* the name for snake in general. A man decorated with this "snake pattern," as it may be called, is shown in Plate XII, and a pattern of the same kind is shown on the head of the man in Plate XIII. The pattern is built up of zig-zag lines. They are made by taking a little of the clay mixed with water between the thumb and first finger; by a movement of the thumb the space between the nail and the skin of the finger is filled with the clay, and the end of the finger is then applied to the skin so that it leaves a short and fine line of clay. A zig-zag line is thus built up of short lines each a finger's breadth in length. A second line is then added, not parallel to the first, but opposed to it, so that the two lines together form a row of lozenges. A third and sometimes a fourth or fifth line are similarly added. As shown in Plate XII the lines of pattern are carried down the front of the body, down the sides of the arms, and down the front of the legs, and they are similarly worked on the back of the body, and the back of the legs. The face also is decorated. These patterns are made by the women. It is one of the duties of a wife to decorate her husband in this way when occasion requires.

The only reason that the natives give for ornamenting themselves in this way is that it makes them "look well." On the occasion of a big dance many of the performers are thus ornamented. This is always so at the dances held when two or more local groups meet together. There are certain special occasions, already mentioned in this chapter, when the use of the "snake pattern" is required by custom. One of these is the dance at the end of mourning. During the period of mourning the mourners are forbidden to make use of this form of decoration.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XII

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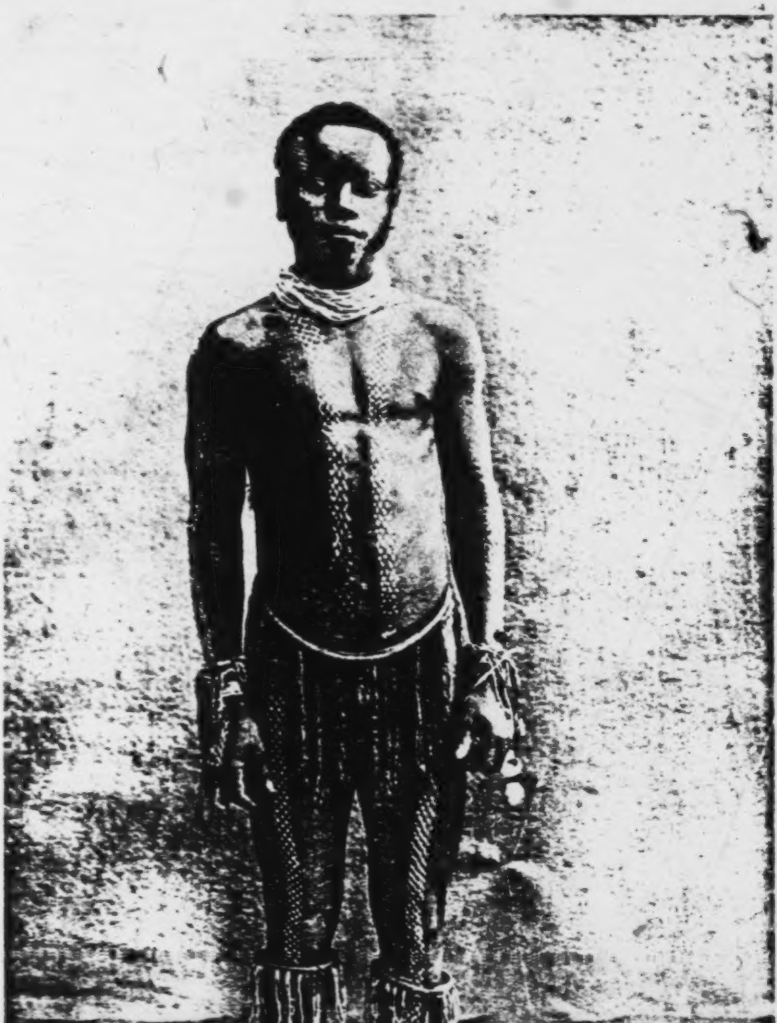
302●



A young man decorated with white clay in readiness for a dance [p. 124A]

PLATE XIII

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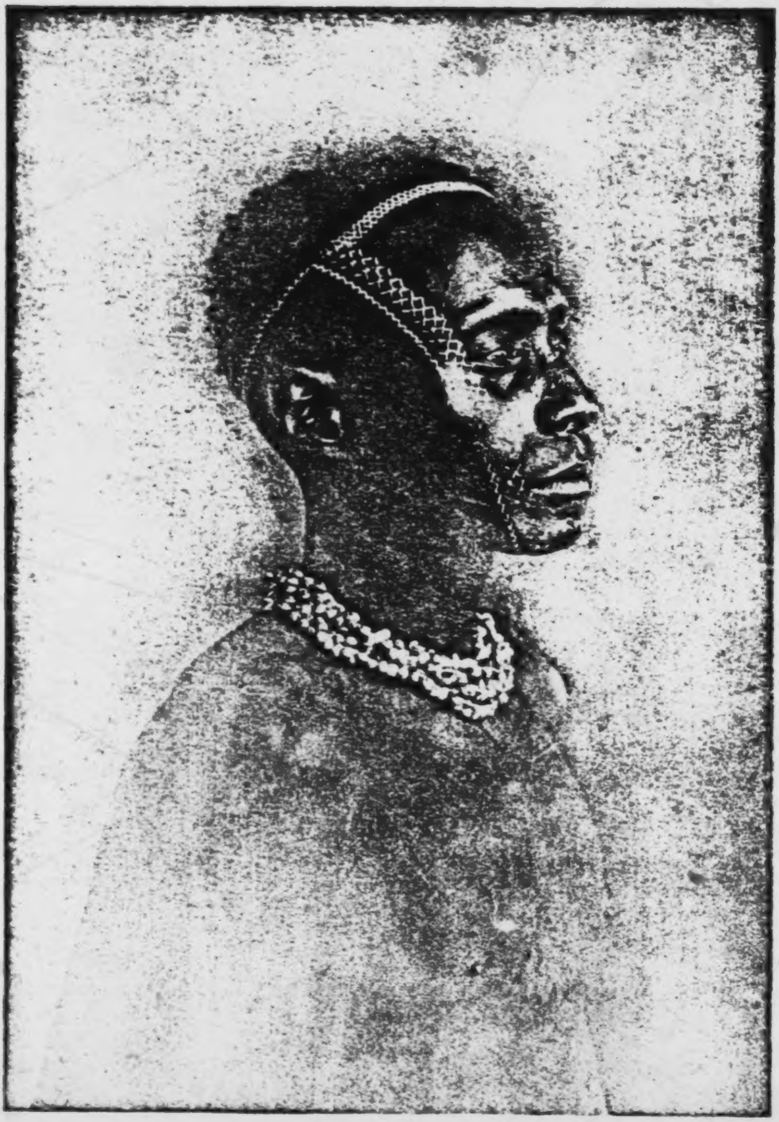

A man with a pattern of white clay on his face

[p. 124 B]

The same pattern is used to decorate a bride and bridegroom after their marriage. In the initiation ceremonies the youth or girl is decorated in this way before the dances at the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. The same pattern is also made on a corpse before burial. 302

In all these cases the whole body is decorated. On less ceremonial occasions, such as an ordinary dance when there are no visitors of importance in the camp, a man frequently has his face alone decorated with white clay, as in the photograph of Plate XIII.

The third kind of material used for painting the body is red paint. This is applied in two different ways. When a man or woman is ill he or she is generally to be seen with some part of his body smeared with red paint. For colds and coughs the chest and neck are painted. In fevers red paint is smeared on the upper lip. Besides the medical use of red paint, if we may call it so, there is a ceremonial use, the pigment being used in combination with white clay, lines of red paint being applied to the body between the lines of clay of the snake pattern. It is used in this way to decorate the body of a dead person for burial, and on ceremonial occasions such as the dance at the end of mourning and the dances in connection with the initiation ceremonies. 302 755

Most of the ornaments worn at various times by the Andaman Islanders have a ceremonial or a magical purpose. The only things worn by men that can be considered to have a utilitarian value are the belt of rope and the necklet of string. The belt may be a plain piece of rope, or it may be ornamented with the yellow skin of a species of *Dendrobium*. It serves as a receptacle in which the natives carry such things as adzes, fish, roots, or even arrows. It is the one object that is constantly worn by men. The string necklet is simply a length of thin string tied round the neck. It serves as a means of carrying a knife and skewer. The knife, in former days made of a slip of cane, but in these times from a piece of scrap iron, is attached to a skewer of *Areca* wood by a short length of rope or stout string. By sliding either the knife or the skewer under the necklet at the back of the neck the double implement hangs securely in 301

X 182 535 some importance, such as a war-dance, or a dance of two groups together, the dancers decorate themselves by putting on various ornaments and by painting their bodies with red paint and white clay. The explanation of the dance cannot therefore be regarded as complete till we have considered the meaning of this personal adornment connected with it.

X 182 535 301 302 If the Andaman Islander be asked why he adorns himself for the dance, his reply is invariably that he wishes to look well, to improve his personal appearance. In other words his conscious motive is personal vanity.

One of the features of the dance, and a not unimportant one, is that it offers an opportunity for the gratification of personal vanity. The dancer, painted, and hung over with ornaments, becomes pleasantly conscious of himself, of his own skill and agility and of his striking or at least satisfactory appearance, and so he becomes also conscious of his relation to others, of their admiration, actual or possible, and of the approval and good-will that go with admiration. In brief, the ornamented dancer is pleasantly conscious of his own personal value. We may therefore say that the most important function of any such adorning of the body is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual.

X 182 301 302 This explanation only applies to certain bodily ornaments and to certain ways of painting the body. It applies to the painting of white clay, with or without red paint, that is adopted at dances and on other ceremonial occasions. It applies to such personal ornaments as those made of netting and *Dentalium* shell which constitute what may be called the ceremonial costume of the Andamanese. It is of these that the natives say that they use them in order to look well.

The occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom. In other words the society dictates to the individual when and how he shall be permitted to express his own personal value. It is obvious that personal vanity is of great importance in directing the conduct of the individual in his dealings with his fellows, and much more amongst a primitive people such as the Andamanese than amongst ourselves, and it is therefore necessary that the society should have some means of

controlling the sentiment and directing it towards social ends. 182X
We have seen that the dance is the expression of the unity and
harmony of the society, and by permitting at the dance the free 301
expression of personal vanity the society ensures that the indi- 302
vidual shall learn to feel, even if only subconsciously, that his personal value depends upon the harmony between himself and his fellows.

The bride and bridegroom are painted with white clay, and wear ornaments of *Dentalium* shell on the day following their marriage. We have seen that marriage involves a change of social status, and we may say that it gives an increased social value to the married pair, the social position of a married man or woman being of greater importance and dignity than that of a bachelor or spinster. They are, after marriage, the objects of higher regard on the part of their fellows than they were before. It is therefore appropriate that the personal value of the bride and bridegroom should be expressed so that both they themselves and their fellows should have their attention drawn to it, and this is clearly the function of the painting and ornaments.

After the completion of any of the more important of the initiation ceremonies, such as the eating of turtle, the initiate is painted with white clay and red paint and wears ornaments of *Dentalium* shell. This is exactly parallel to the painting of the bride and bridegroom. The initiate, by reason of the ceremony he has been through, has acquired new dignity and importance, and by having fulfilled the requirements of custom has deserved the approval of his fellows. The decoration of his body after the ceremony is thus the expression of his increased social value.

A corpse, before burial, is decorated in the same manner as 182X
the body of a dancer. This, we may take it, is the means by
which the surviving relatives and friends express their regard for 302
the dead, i.e. their sense of his value. We need not suppose that 764
they believe the dead man to be conscious of what they are doing. It is to satisfy themselves that they decorate the corpse, not to satisfy the spirit. When a man is painted he feels that he has the regard and good-will of his fellows, and those who see him, at any rate in the instance of a bridegroom or initiate,

X 182 ● 302 764 realise that he has deserved their regard. So, to express their regard for the dead man they paint the inanimate body. Hence it is that the greater the esteem in which the dead man or woman is held, the greater is the care bestowed on the last painting.

We may conclude therefore that the painting of the body with white clay and the wearing of ornaments of *Dentalium* shell is a rite or ceremony by which the value of the individual to the society is expressed on appropriate occasions. We shall find confirmation of this later in the chapter.

X 182 301 535 832 Before passing on to consider the meaning of other methods of decorating the body there is one matter that is worthy of mention. It is often assumed or stated that both personal ornament and dancing, amongst uncivilised peoples, are connected with sexual emotion. It is, of course, extremely difficult to disprove a statement of this sort. So far as the Andamanese are concerned I was unable to find any trace whatever of a definitely sexual element in either their dances or their personal adornment. It may be recalled that both men and women wear exactly the same ornaments on ceremonial occasions, and this is to some extent evidence that such have no sexual value. It is possible that some observers might see in the dance of the women (which is only performed on rare occasions) a suggestion of something of a sexual nature. I was unable to find that the natives themselves consider that there is anything suggestive of sex in either the dance of the men or that of the women. If it were true that the most important feature of the dance was that it appealed in some way to sexual feelings it is difficult to see how we are to explain the different occasions on which dancing takes place, as before a fight, at the end of mourning, etc., whereas these are adequately accounted for by the hypothesis that the dance is a method of expressing the unity and harmony of the society. Similarly the explanation of personal ornament as being connected with sexual feeling would fail to account for the occasions on which it is regarded as obligatory. There is therefore, I believe, no special connection between the dancing and personal ornament of the Andamanese and sexual feeling. It would still be possible to hold that there is a general against evil; (2) the degree of protective power it is believed to possess depends on the importance of the services it actually renders to the society; (3) the kind of special protection it is supposed to afford is often related to the kind of special service that it does actually render. 182x 751

We were led to the consideration of the protective power of objects through an attempt to understand the meaning of the methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans. We have seen that some ornaments are worn in order to express the personal value of the individual, while others are worn for the sake of the protection they are believed to afford. We have also seen that one method of painting the body (with white clay) is a means of expressing the personal value of the painted individual. We will next consider the use of the clay called *odu*. This clay is painted on the body of a mourner and is the outward sign of mourning; it is used at certain stages of the initiation ceremonies; it is also regularly used for painting the body with the designs known as *era-puli*. According to the rule of method laid down at the beginning of the chapter we must seek some common explanation of these different uses of the same substance. 182x 751 302

We may consider, first of all, the patterns (*era-puli*) that are made with this clay on the body and face after eating certain foods such as pork and turtle.

Mr Man gives two explanations of the use of these paintings of clay. During the hot season, he says, the natives "endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their bodies with a white-wash of common white clay and water." He adds: "it has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have given above[1]." In another place he says: "After eating pork or turtle they are in the habit of smearing *og* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them, by the

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[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 76.

X 182 751 302

savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly[1]."

There are here two explanations of fundamentally different character. First the Andamanese practice of painting their bodies with clay is explained as having a purely utilitarian purpose, being intended to cool them when they are heated. In the second statement the explanation given is that the custom is intended to protect them from danger.

My own observations do not altogether agree with the statements of Mr Man. I found that the natives painted themselves just as much in the cold season as in the hot season. The principal, if not the sole, occasion on which the clay is used is after or immediately before a meal, and therefore generally in the late afternoon or evening when the heat of the day is past. I do not feel so satisfied as Mr Man appears to be, that the clay really has the effect of keeping a person cool, particularly when it is remembered that the painting may consist of a few lines each as broad as a finger. Moreover, Mr Man's explanation does not afford any reason for the fact that the clay is always applied in some sort of pattern. If it were merely to keep himself cool, we should expect to see a man cover himself all over with a plain coating evenly spread over the body. Such an even coating is never used, in the Great Andaman tribes, except by persons mourning for the dead, and is the essential mark of a mourner.

X 182 302 751 196 264

It is easy to explain how Mr Man has fallen into an error in this matter. On many occasions, when I questioned the natives as to their reason for painting themselves with clay I received the answer, "When we have eaten pork or turtle or dugong, we become *ot-kimil* and so we take clay and paint ourselves." Now the word *ot-kimil* in the *Aka-Jeru* language is the word that the natives use to express what we mean by the word "hot." But while "hot" may always be translated by *ot-kimil* or *er-kimil*, the latter word cannot always be adequately rendered in English by the word "hot." Mr Man seems to have supposed that when an Andaman Islander says "hot" he means by the word only what we mean, whereas he really means a great deal more.

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[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 333.

X 182 302 751 264 753

It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-kimil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot. This will be still more evident when we consider the second explanation of the custom that is given by the natives. Many of those whom I questioned stated that after eating dugong, pork, turtle, etc., the body emits an odour, that this odour may attract the spirits of the jungle or the sea, and that to obviate this they paint themselves with clay. This agrees exactly with what Mr Man says in the second passage quoted above. It is confirmed by other customs. I was told that a man who has eaten dugong will not leave the camp until some time after the dugong meat is all finished, for fear that the spirits may smell him and do him harm. It is to be noted in passing that painting the body with clay does not by any means remove the odour that does actually characterise a native after he has been eating fat meat of any kind. We must be careful, in this instance also, not to assume that an Andaman Islander means by "smell" exactly what we mean by it and nothing more. It will be shown later in the chapter that the Andamanese identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle. One example may be given here to show this. The origin of rheumatism in the legs is explained by the natives as being the result of the common practice of preparing the fibre of the *Anadendron paniculatum* by scraping it on the thigh. During this process, they say, the "smell" of the plant enters the thigh and is the cause of rheumatic or sciatic pains.

The natives give yet a third statement of their reasons for using clay. On many occasions I asked them what would happen if they ate pork or turtle and did not paint themselves. In every case I received the reply that any man who did such a thing would almost certainly be ill.

X 182 753 264

When a number of persons give three different reasons for one and the same action, and are equally sincere throughout, it is to be presumed that the three different statements are so many different ways of saying one and the same thing. We may therefore conclude that the Andaman Islanders believe that there is a peculiar power in foods (or in some foods) which makes it dangerous to eat them. This danger may be expressed by saying that

to protect them from danger and to bring them luck, is there- 182^X
fore very similar to their belief in the protective power of the
materials used for weapons and implements. The consideration 784
of the apparent contradiction mentioned above has led us to a 262
more exact statement of the real beliefs in these matters. They believe, we may say, that all the things from the jungle and the sea of which they make use as food or as materials, are dangerous unless approached with proper ritual precautions, but when so approached they become sources of strength and well-being and also of protection from unseen dangers.

To return to the main argument, which was concerned with 182^X
the meaning of the patterns of clay painted on the body after
eating the more dangerous foods, it would seem that this action 302
is really a rite or ceremony, of the same general character as 264
other ceremonial customs of the Andamans. It is an action 751
required by custom, the performance of which on appropriate occasions serves to keep alive in the mind of the individual a certain system of sentiments necessary for the regulation of conduct in conformity to the needs of the society. By it the individual is made to feel (or to act as though he felt) that his life is one of continually repeated dangers from which he can only be preserved by conforming to the customs of the society as they have been handed down by tradition. He is made to feel that the eating of food is not merely the satisfaction of an animal appetite, but an act of communion, that the food itself is something "sacred" (if we may use that word in the sense of the original Latin "sacer"). It serves also, like any other rite in which all join, to make the individual feel the solidarity and unity of the community; all share in the common repast and the common danger, and each man sees on his neighbour the clay with which he himself is daubed.

Of course it is probable that the Andamanese custom of painting the body after eating, like our own grace before and after meat, with which it is parallel, tends to become a formality accompanied by little real feeling, but it can be shown, I believe, that such customs do possess a real value—a real psychological function—in keeping alive ideas and sentiments that will on occasion play an important part in influencing conduct.

contact with some source of that power which belongs to the 182x
things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep 778
alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community.

We may now return to the question of the meaning of per- 182x
sonal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology
that the development of the sense of self is closely connected 304
with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally 301
recognized that the development of the moral and social senti- 302
ments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual.

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, 182x
that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the
boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification 304
gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments.

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that 182x
the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted in- 302
dividual and those who see him feel his social value, and we

x 182 302 have seen that this interpretation explains the occasions on which such painting is used. To complete the argument it is necessary to consider the occasions on which the use of white clay is forbidden.

Those to whom this prohibition applies are (1) a youth or girl who is *aka-op*, i.e., who is abstaining from certain foods during the initiation period, (2) a mourner, (3) a homicide during the period of isolation, and (4) a person who is ill. All these persons are excluded from full participation in the active social life, and therefore the social value of each of them is diminished. It would obviously be wrong for a person in such a condition to express by decorating himself a social value that he did not at the time possess.

x 182 811 885 302 The occasions on which this style of painting is used or forbidden are thus all satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis. It remains to consider the nature of the painting itself, and how far it is an appropriate means of expression. To do this we must discuss very briefly some of the processes of symbolic thought of the Andamanese. Conditions of well-being (both individual and social) are associated in the minds of the Andamanese with fine weather, both directly (through physiological action) and indirectly (through the effect of fine weather on the social life). Hence *Tomo*, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, is a personification of fine weather, is a being who is connected with goodness and happiness. With fine weather, and therefore with individual and social well-being, the Andamanese associate brightness and whiteness (for which they have only one word) and any bright or light colour. The association of light and dark with euphoric and dysphoric conditions respectively has a psycho-physical basis, for it seems to be universal in human nature. Now the clay that the Andamanese call *tol-odu* is the whitest substance they know, and is for this reason fitted to be symbolical of conditions of well-being. Fine weather is associated, in the minds of the Andamanese with honey, because in the season of fine weather honey is plentiful, and is also associated for a similar reason with snakes. Sweetness itself is universally associated with pleasant things, again through a psycho-physical link. The Andamanese believe in a special connection between honey and a species of large snake called *wara-jobo* or *or-čubi*[1], so that this snake comes to be representative of fine weather and sweetness and therefore generally of states of well-being. Now, throughout the Great Andaman the pattern in which white clay is painted on the body is called after this snake, and the zig-zags of which the pattern is composed may be supposed to be representative of the snake itself. When, therefore, a man paints himself with white clay in a pattern which he regards as representing the snake *wara-jobo*, it is evident that the painting is meant to express a condition of well-being, with which the snake itself, and whiteness, are, by a number of links, closely associated. This is not all, however. The Andamanese, we may not doubt, derive from the painted pattern an esthetic pleasure due to its rhythmical character, its shape as an arrangement of lines and spaces. Further it provides the pleasure that we obtain from a thing elegantly and skilfully made, and this explains why so much care is taken in the making of the pattern. This pleasure at what we may call the beauty of the pattern heightens the effect produced by its symbolic references. The real value of the pattern, its pleasure-giving quality, is transferred to the man on whose body it is executed. He himself is pleased with it, proud of it, and so becomes pleased with and proud of himself, for the pattern by being imprinted on his body becomes part of him. The sense of self attaches to it, as with us the sense of self attaches to our clothes.

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182x
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It would be interesting to carry the analysis of the mental processes involved in all this a stage or two further, but enough has been said, I hope, to show that the nature of the painting with clay is appropriate to its use as marking or expressing value.

Patterns are sometimes painted with this same white clay on the face alone, such patterns being built up either of the zig-zags of the snake pattern, or of rhythmically arranged series of short lines. The use of such paintings is regulated by a sort of etiquette. By so having his face decorated a man expresses that he is pleased with himself, and obviously there are occasions on which it is appropriate and others on which it is inappropriate

182x
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[1] See p. 227.

X182 302 that he should feel thus. A man who has been successful in the day's hunting, for example, is quite justified in having his face ornamented in this way, and it is on such occasions as this that the custom is observed.

X182 302 822 When a man is painted for a dance, or on any other ceremonial occasion, with white clay, he is also painted at the same time with red paint. In these instances we must suppose that the red paint serves the same purpose as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined, namely to make the decorated person pleasantly aware of his or her social value. Red paint is also used, however, in sickness, and on other occasions, as affording protection against evil, particularly evil from the spirit-world.

This double use of red paint is to be explained by reference to the colour symbolism of the Andaman Islanders. For them the colour red is pre-eminently the colour of blood and of fire. There is ample evidence of this which it is perhaps not necessary to state. Now blood is identified with the warmth of the body and with life; the blood and the fat are sometimes spoken of as the two vital principles. Fire, as I have already shown, is taken as a symbol of activity and of mental excitement. Thus the colour comes to be associated in the minds of the Andamanese with all euphoric conditions, with excitement, vitality, mental and bodily activity, and with energy or force in general. It is possible that this symbolism, which seems to be much the same in all divisions of mankind, has a psycho-physical basis in the stimulating dynamogenic power of sensations of redness.

When a person is sick he is in need of vitality, of energy, and so his body is daubed with the red paint that is a symbol of the things that he needs, and by a simple mental process he comes to believe that by applying the paint to his body he increases his energy and vitality, and so helps himself to get rid of the sickness. At a dance, or on other ceremonial occasions, it is required that the individual shall have a sense of his own value, and for this he must experience that sense of personal force and vitality that is produced, as we have seen, by the action of the dance. This effect is reinforced by the use of the red paint which is the symbol of that condition of energy and vitality that it is

(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value 182x
of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red 302 ●
paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on 822
whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined.

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate 182x
the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the 301
desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see 302
that these two motives are very intimately related and are really 304
both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some

X 182 ●302 301 304 intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both. There is the further example of red paint, which is combined with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

X 182 302 The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation between the individual and the power present in the food he has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white clay and red paint worn at a dance and after marriage and initiation is not only a means of display but is also protective. Both red paint and white clay are used to give protection in sickness, and they are similarly used in the purification of the hands of a homicide. Moreover we have seen, in reference to the word *ot-kimil*, that the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society. The few days following an initiation ceremony are definitely believed to be a period of danger for the initiate, and during this time the pattern of white clay and red paint must not be washed off but must be allowed to wear off. By the time the last traces of the pattern have disappeared the danger is considered to be over. There is evidence that the first few days of marriage are regarded as a period of danger. It would seem that the natives do attribute to the painting with white clay and red paint some power of protection, but this is hidden under the importance of such painting as a means of display. 182x 302

Of the various ornaments that are worn on the body some would seem to be worn almost solely for purposes of display, because they are pleasing to the eye. Such are the necklaces and other ornaments of small shells. It would seem that the same motive is also responsible for the use of the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* of which the Andamanese are so fond. The ornaments of netting and shell seem to be worn primarily for display, but it is quite possible that some protective power is attributed to them, as to the paintings of white clay with which they are regularly worn. The belts of *Pandanus* leaf that are worn by women are a mark of the sex, and the style of belt worn differs with the social status of the woman. They thus serve to exhibit the special social value of the woman in so far as it depends upon her sex and her social status, but I believe that the Andamanese attribute to the belt and to the apron of leaves worn with it a power of protection against the special dangers to which women are believed to be subject. Ths is suggested by the use of the *Pandanus* leaf in the ceremony at a girl's first menstruation[1]. I failed to discover any special ideas connected 182x 301

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[1] I am unfortunately obliged to leave a big gap in this chapter and in the book, owing to my inability to discuss the Andamanese notions about sex. The natives of 831

301 171 As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers.

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

HAIR-DRESSING, SCARIFICATION, AND BODY-PAINTING.

302 At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate XV, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice.

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gör*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

304 171 Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do.

302 The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine

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[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

302 white clay, and with red paint made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with fat or oil. The natives of the Little Andaman use the same kind of clay as that called *odu* or *og* in the Great Andaman, but instead of applying it in patterns they smear it roughly on the back and front of the trunk. They also use red paint, with which they smear their hair, a practice never met with in the Great Andaman.

ORNAMENTATION.

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The Andamanese have simple designs which they paint or incise on their bodies and on a great number of the objects that they make and use. A few typical designs such as are incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf are shown in Fig. 42. A very large number of designs are based on the zig-zag line. Examples are shown in Fig. 42 *c*, *e*, and *g*. In all parts of the Great Andaman and also in the Little Andaman the zig-zag line is associated with snakes. Thus in the Little Andaman the simple zig-zag line is called *dobo kwolage* (*dobo* = snake). In the North Andaman the design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay is called *or-čubi t'era-bat*, *or-čubi* being the name of a species of large snake.

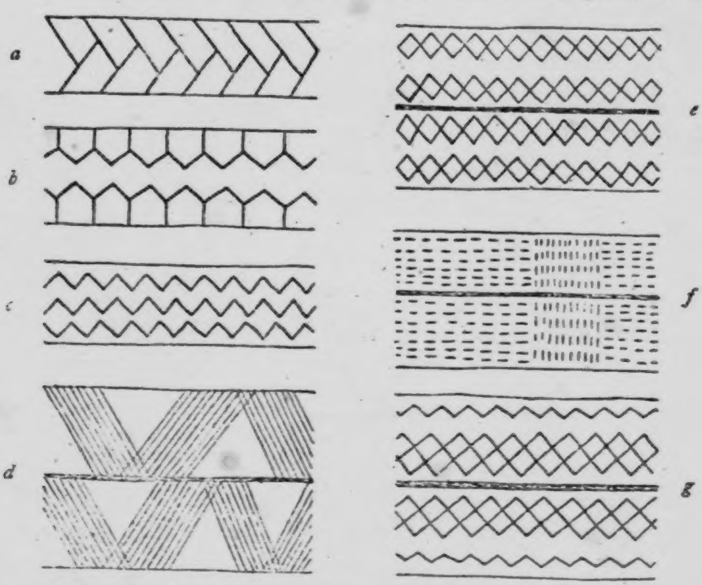

Fig. 42. Designs incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf, Great Andaman

A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*. 302 531

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

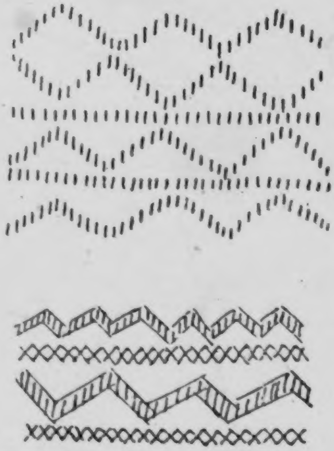

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

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It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty.

CANOES.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars. 501

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

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[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

variations in colour are not confined within certain tribal limits, 142 but are alike found in all, whether living inland or on the coast; and it would therefore appear that the cause is not attributable to diet, habits, or, indeed, to any external circumstance.

3. The opinion expressed on this subject by Dr. Mouat was that "their hue is remarkably black and lustrous;" while Surgeon-Major Hodder[1] describes them as "extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove." In this latter remark I fully concur; indeed, the simile strikes me as an exceedingly happy one, and as exactly expressing the predominating colour of their skin.

4. On examining a number of individuals, and comparing the colour of their skin and eyes with the standard tables prepared by the late M. Broca, it was found that the skin of the face and shoulders of the majority corresponded most nearly with No. 42, the variations tending towards 27 and 28, while that of the trunk, in the generality of cases, agreed with No. 27, and in certain others with No. 49. The prevailing hue of the eyes was found to be most closely represented by No. 16, one exception, which had to be classed under No. 1, being found among those tested.

Odour.—1. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of 302 the negro are not found among them, and the peculiarity of odour which attaches to their persons is chiefly due to the unguent, called *kòi·ob-da*,[2] composed of red oxide of iron mixed with either turtle or pig's fat, with which they delight to paint themselves. When in health, and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet.[3]

Anatomy and Physiology (*continued*).—2. Their powers of 261 abstinence from solid food have never, to our knowledge, been severely tested; but it has been noticed that, on rare occasions, when forced to make a long day's journey through the jungles without a halt, they are in the habit of binding a strip of bark or other substance round their waists, to reduce, as much as possible, the inconvenience and pain which are caused by what they consider a long fast. Whether in exercise or repose they

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[1] *Vide* "Pall Mall Budget," 20th April, 1877.

[2] Substantives, adjectives, and many adverbs have the termination "da," [193] which, as mentioned in my previous paper, I believe to be traceable to the defective or partially obsolete verb, *edā·ke*, to be; it is dropped before prepositions and in construction generally, but is usually heard when the word occurs alone. Hence, when I write a hyphen at the end of an Andamanese word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *da*.

[3] It is, nevertheless, commonly noticed, that after feasting on turtle and certain kinds of fish, they are unpleasant neighbours, their breath and hands being then highly odoriferous.

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

27/ [415] 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. 302 on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

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[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kòi·ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

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able, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them, [2-64] and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is of course due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them. The canines are not longer or more prominent than the other teeth; caries appear to be rare, except with those well advanced in years. [145] The front teeth of the lower jaw are generally the first cut: the first dentition is completed apparently at an earlier age than is usual among ourselves.

Hair.—1. Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., who has kindly examined some of the hair microscopically, gives it as his opinion that the form of the transverse section is *oval.* Having, however, only a small quantity at his disposal, he has not been able to make a sufficient examination as yet, so he adds that, "it may be that some sections are oblique, but a number are certainly transverse, and none of them have a circular outline." In appearance it is extremely frizzly and seems to grow in spiral tufts,[1] but examination proves that the roots are uniformly distributed over the scalp: it is fine in texture and fairly abundant, but lustreless, and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches if the actual length when untwisted be measured; in a few instances it has been found to be eight or ten inches long, but the ends were matted, dead-like, and easily broken.

2. The majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gôr-*, from the crown to the nape of the neck. The *gôr-* is never allowed to exceed one-eighth of an inch in length; therefore, as they have no means of clipping it, it is constantly shaven off, and a fresh *gôr-* is made with the hair which has grown since the last operation.[2] 302

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[1] Just ten years ago it was pointed out by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., that the delicate ribbon-like hair of these islanders is exactly similar to that of the now extinct race of Tasmanians ("Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 100).

[2] I would here call attention to some errors of the artist by whom Dr. Mouat's book was illustrated. He has represented the men as shaven and the women with their curly wigs intact, whereas it is the latter only who as a rule shave their heads; and they do not go about entirely nude, but wear leaves, as will be explained in another place (*vide post* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and "Attire," paragraph 3). They are further incorrectly represented in the same plate as using a gipsy's tripod for cooking purposes.

302 3. Though many of the men were and are in the habit of having their heads shaved like the women, the style of hair-dressing most affected by them before our arrival left only a circular patch of hair, about six or eight inches in diameter, like a skull cap, on the top of the head. Of late, however, they have indulged in many fanciful modes, such as shaving a piece about two or three inches broad between the forehead and the nape of the neck, or making a large tonsure. From this it will be seen that the Andamanese cannot be instanced as a tribe that "goes bald always," as has been asserted.[1]

4. Men will sometimes shave each other's heads, but only when the services of a woman are not available; for it is one of the duties of the fair sex in these tribes to act as barbers, regarding which fact I shall have occasion to make further reference in subsequent sections.[2]

5. When, in consequence of its having attained an unusual length, the hair is found to be oppressively hot and difficult to clean, it is shaved off entirely or in part, clipping, as already mentioned, being impracticable, owing to the lack of a suitable instrument. On these occasions the eyebrows are generally removed, which explains Dr. Day's remark, that "they rarely have eyebrows."

[142] 6. With the exception of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which are of slight growth, hair is only occasionally seen on the face, and then but scantily and in patches on the upper lip and chin, where it has a tendency to grow in spiral tufts: as it is esteemed a decoration it is never shaved or depilated.

7. It has been rumoured[3] that there are tribes of a long-haired race on Interview and also on Rutland Islands; but, with regard to the former, none of the Northerners who have been to Port Blair have possessed this characteristic, or will allow that it is to be met with amongst their communities, while our relations with the inhabitants of the latter enable us to contradict the assertion, which, indeed, can only be explained by supposing that runaway convicts, who have frequently escaped thither, must have been mistaken for aborigines.

[142] 8. That baldness has been known among them may be assumed from their having a word in their language to express it, but such cases would appear to be of very rare occurrence since none have come under my notice.

9. It has been asserted that "they are in the habit of dyeing their hair with red ochre;" but, whatever may have been the custom in former times, this is certainly not now the case, as

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[1] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 238, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.

[2] *Vide post* "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 3, *and* "Shaving," paragraph 2.

[3] "Encycl. Brit."

•302 they never intentionally interfere with the natural colour, but some of the pigment, *kòi·ob-*, with which they so frequently paint their persons sometimes accidentally adheres to their curly wigs, these being often used for wiping or drying their hands.

142 10. The colour of the hair among different individuals varies between black, greyish-black, and sooty, the last perhaps predominating; it is apparently uninfluenced by, and does not correspond with, the hue of the eye or skin; it commences to turn grey about the fortieth year, but the number of those who exceed that age being small, white hair is seldom seen.

165 **Development and Decay.**—1. The average length of life, owing to excessive infant mortality as well as to the small number that attain old age, can hardly be reckoned as much, if at all, beyond 22 years. Not more than three generations of the same family have ever been known to be alive at the same time.

2. Fifty years is believed to be the extreme limit of age among them, and the majority of those who attain it are women.

145 3. Judging from those whose births have been registered by us, it would seem that physical development takes place at a late age as compared with natives of India, the males not attaining puberty till about the 16th year, and the females not before the 15th,[1] while the maxima of stature and bulk are not reached till two or three years later; should the opinion thus formed be confirmed by further observations, the fact will serve to weaken the theories that have been advanced by some anthropologists to account for the phenomenon hitherto assumed to be of universal application, that "the period of immaturity is curtailed in inverse proportion to the approximation to the equator or the polar circle;"[2] but, as the same writer goes on to say, "probably the latitude of the abode has no reference to this phenomenon; it may more probably have some connection with the darkness of the skin."

141 4. Among the Andamanese, when the head is in the customary position, the line taken by a horizontal plane drawn through the *meatus auditorius* would, in most cases, pass through the apex of the facial angle, or, in exceptional cases, somewhat lower. I cannot entirely concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. Brander regarding the variety of the facial type found among them, as he says that "some faces seem to resemble the Negraic, some the Malayan, and some even the Aryan in character;" it is, however, a curious physiognomical fact, of which there can be little or no question, that a remarkable diversity in this respect *does* exist among them, though it is

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[1] The extreme ages for child-bearing appear to be 16 and 35 years.

[2] Peschel.

572 591 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they [302] shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tá·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire*, *i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire*, *i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

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[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly 881 still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be 262 wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, [302] sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dī-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la-ōg-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances [535] frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

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[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á·ja-gū·mul-* and *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*

[2] He is then said to *gū·mul māg·ke* (or *gū·mul lē·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gū·mul-*

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*bō·rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *râb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves. 765

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner. [302] ●

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô·latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers. 765 535

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the 764

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[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B. item 42.

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576 shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout[1] of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling[2] and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

515 9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,[3] their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, rather than the *àryô·to-*, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.[4]

● [302] 11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg-*,[5] dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*,[6] over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

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[1] There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tĕ·reblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called—

[2] *rō·moke.*

[3] *Vide* Appendix H (*lad·a chàu-*, lit., dirty body).

[4] They never allow vermin to breed on their persons—in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *àryô·to-*, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 59.

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed. 304 852

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making. 312

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pū·luga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *â·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5] [751]

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[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

7. *tá·la-ōg-* is a pure white clay, which, being comparatively scarce, is more prized than *ōg-*, and consequently more sparingly used; it is applied ornamentally, usually with the nail of the forefinger, in fine tattoo-like patterns, to the cheeks, body and limbs; the designs are invariably executed by women, who, when adorning their relatives[1] for a *jeg-* or other festivity,[2] vie with one another, both as regards the variety and the neatness of their work.

8. *kòi·ob-* consists of burnt yellow ochre mixed with the melted fat of the pig, turtle, iguana, or dugong, and occasionally with oil obtained from a species of almond called *ē·mej-*; this unguent is much used[3] in decorating both the living and the dead[4] and is also employed as a remedy in certain forms of suffering;[5] but it is never applied to the person when in mourning, or, as has been so often asserted, in order to protect the body from the stings of insects.[6]

9. Both *tá·la-ōg-* and *kòi-ob-* are used to adorn their weapons and the various utensils, &c., in daily use.

10. With *kòi·ob-*, of course, no delicate patterns can be worked, but rough zig-zags and stripes are made with the finger tips all over the body: judging from the appearance of a person who had been shortly before painted with *kòi·ob-*, one might easily suppose that the unguent had been smeared over his person, but this is not the case, for it is always applied in some sort of design, which, however, is speedily effaced, as the heat of the body causes the oleaginous pigment to liquify.

Shaving.—1. Under an earlier section[7] shaving was necessarily, to a great extent, included; it remains, however, to be here added, that it is commenced at a very early age: indeed, within a few hours of its birth the Andamanese baby has its head shaved and painted with *kòi·ob-*,[8] while its diminutive face and body are adorned with a design in *tá·la-ōg-*:[9] this latter, as may

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[1] These substances are not employed with a view of improving the texture of the skin; they never stain their nails or apply cosmetics to their eyes to increase their lustre.

[2] Though *tá·la-ōg-* is never used by mourners on their own persons it is always applied, as is *kòi·ob-*, to a corpse before it is interred (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 3).

[3] The *jār·awa-* are believed to use *kòi·ob-* only for the ornamentation of their implements and weapons.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 3 and 8.

[5] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[6] It may, however, be said to be used also as a perfume, for it is often applied to the upper lip after a feast on pork or turtle, as the odour of the unguent at such times is apparently particularly agreeable to them. This art of painting the upper lip with *kòi·ob-* is termed *á·kan-lè·mòudike*.

[7] *Vide ante* Part I: "Hair," paragraphs 2, 3, and 5.

[8] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraph 7.

[9] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraph 6.

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be supposed, is soon obliterated, and requires therefore to be constantly renewed. 302

2. Only in very exceptional cases, when the services of a woman are not obtainable, will men consent to operate upon one another, for among these savages shaving is regarded as essentially a feminine occupation:[1] the instrument used for this purpose is effective, if rude, and consists merely of a flake of quartz, or now more generally of glass; the manner in which these primitive razors are made is described under "Stone Implements."[2]

3. Previous to shaving an *infant*, the mother usually moistens the head with milk which she presses from her breast, but when operating upon bigger children and adults, water only is used.

Deformations.—1. Unless tattooing can be so regarded, these savages do not intentionally produce any deformities, or practice artificial deformations in any way.[3] No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings. 304

2. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours, the Nicobarese, who not only flatten the occiputs of their children in infancy, but, from the period of puberty, blacken their teeth,[4] and perforate the lobes of their ears to such an extent as to enable them, by the time they are full grown, to insert a wooden cylindrical instrument three-quarters of an inch thick.

3. There is, however, a deformity of the skull observable in most Andamanese women, but it is caused unintentionally, and arises from the practice, to which allusion has already been made,[5] of placing the cane or cord by which a load is borne across the anterior portion of the cranium: this habit, especially when commenced at an early age, cannot fail to produce a more or less deep indentation.[6] 304 482

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[1] *Vide ante* "Social Relations," paragraph 3.

[2] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 4.

[3] Mutilation, such as the amputation of a part, or whole, of the fingers, which is practised among certain African tribes, is quite unknown to this race, as are also the customs of circumcision and castration.

[4] "Men and women use so large a quantity of betel-nut lime and betel-leaves that their teeth are as black as ink, and the space between them being filled with that matter they appear as a solid piece, much like the horn inserted in the jaws of the tortoise" (*vide* "Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[5] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 2.

[6] So strongly marked is the deformation in most cases, that the late Dr. J. Barnard Davis, being unaware of its true cause, in a letter to me on the subject, wrote as follows:—"The skull shows unmistakably that she has been subjected to the same barbarous treatment which the women among Australians have to submit to: every Australian woman's skull that I have

302 58. *tà·la-ōg-.*[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for orna-
386 mental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when
[462] painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

[843] [NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-.* Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-.*[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is
[764] removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-.* Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kà·ngatà-būj-* (*vide* next item).

[462] 62. *kà·ngatà-būj-.* Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *ā·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

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[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[758] [5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-ekà·laga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large. 302 386

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [6], p. 184). 386 758

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *râb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons. 283

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose. [462]

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made. [462]

67. *pò·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets. 412

[**Note.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kō·tegbo-*.[2]**] [286]

68. *pó-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pór-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or 373 [462]

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[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.

[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.

[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.

[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Önge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Önge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Önge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Önge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Önge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite [302] unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Önge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Önge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Önge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Önge-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Önge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Önge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Önge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Önge-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Önge-Jarawas.

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* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

145 to about 60 to 65, if he reaches "old age." Except as to marriage at an ear-
lier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however,
582 live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental
faculties.

163 **Reproduction.**—The marriages are infructuous, though barrenness is
[853] uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many
none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

291 **Endurance.**—Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and
with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not orna-
147 ment, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist
behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jarawas, however, of both sexes have
been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they
avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it
arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort
badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as
[482] four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his
distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the
urgency.

252 **Food.**—The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*para-
262 doxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit,
seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve,
though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and
commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten and the
Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe.
The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts
of animals and fish.

142 **Skin.**—The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bojigngiji Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Onges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jarawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

Hair.—The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish
brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown.
Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in
small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really
closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is un-
●[302] known, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth
of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eye-
[145] brows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own
method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common.

Shaving is "woman's work" and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

Bodily Parts.—The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Onges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Onges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

164 **Diseases.**—The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264
578 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302
304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Önge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also 114
accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the 123
Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we
decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the
place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and
reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there
were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was [312]
discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the [501]
hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the
centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines
as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place
we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately
the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila
Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which
all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we
moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be
deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there
and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such
presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner.
When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about
a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found [342]
to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, [592]
1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the
young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his 609
mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents 123
we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. 126
In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and
blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able
to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port
Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department,
Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree 825
the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired 124
about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi
was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that
the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned
to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon 501
time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes 609
(of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. 122
We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it
and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us.
Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves
understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam
of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man 554
who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was [302]
painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

[P.4(B)]

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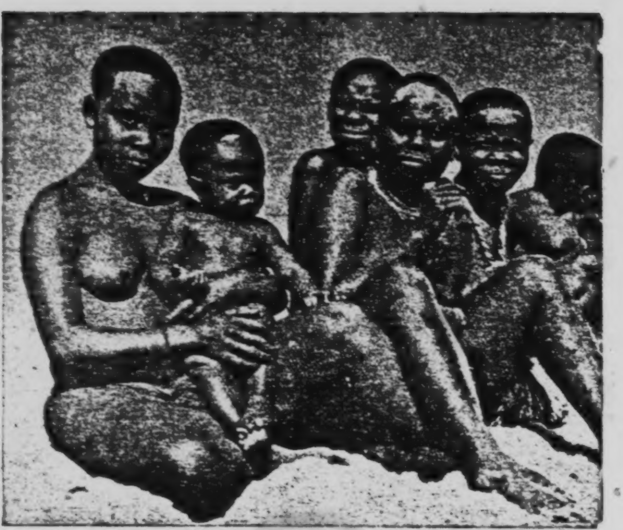

PLATE III.

Onge females living in hut No. 2, Plate 1.

[P.4(C)]

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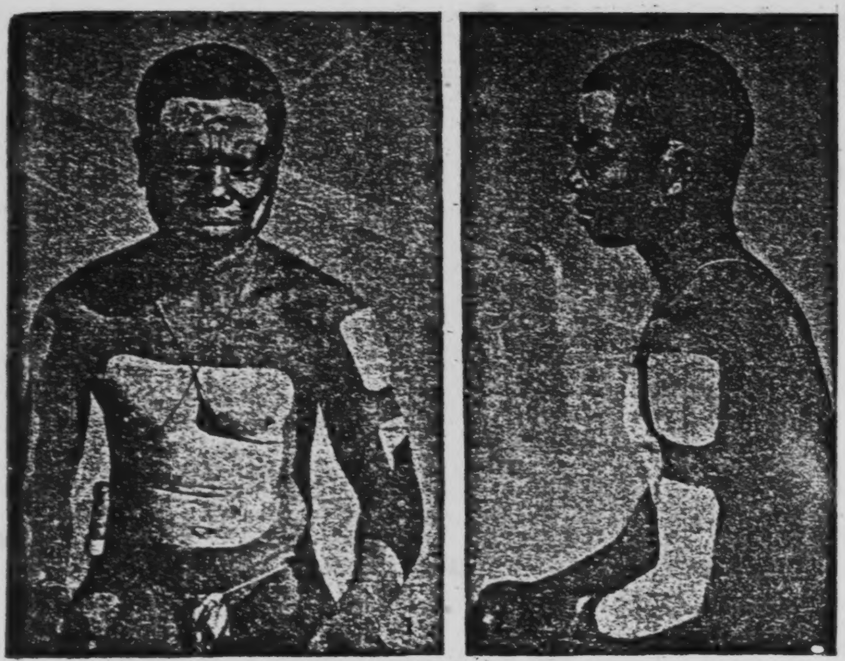

PLATE IV.

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male (Raja) decorated with paints on board the "Molly" in Little Andaman waters.

[P.6(A)]

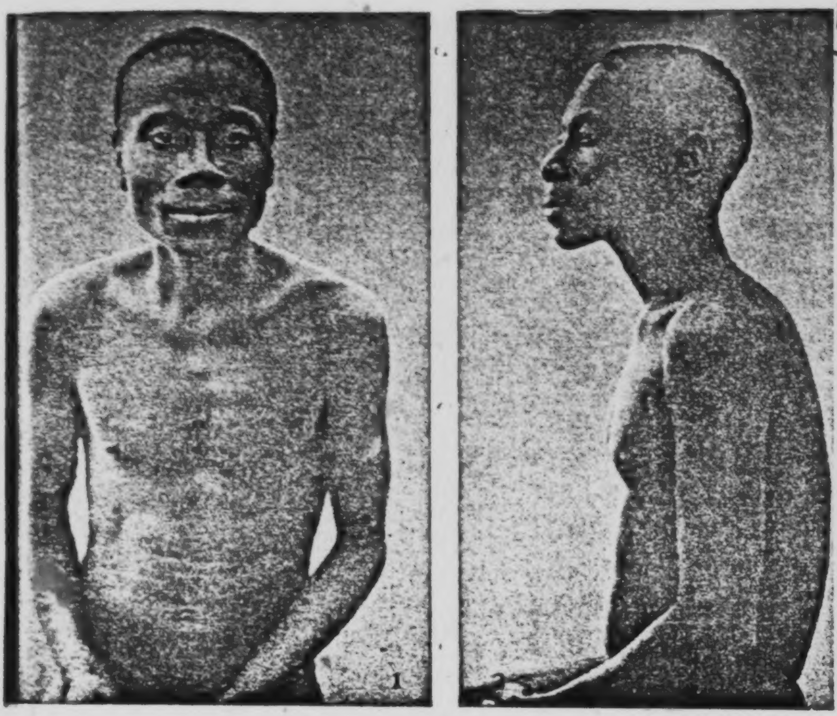

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PLATE V.
Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

[P.6(B)]

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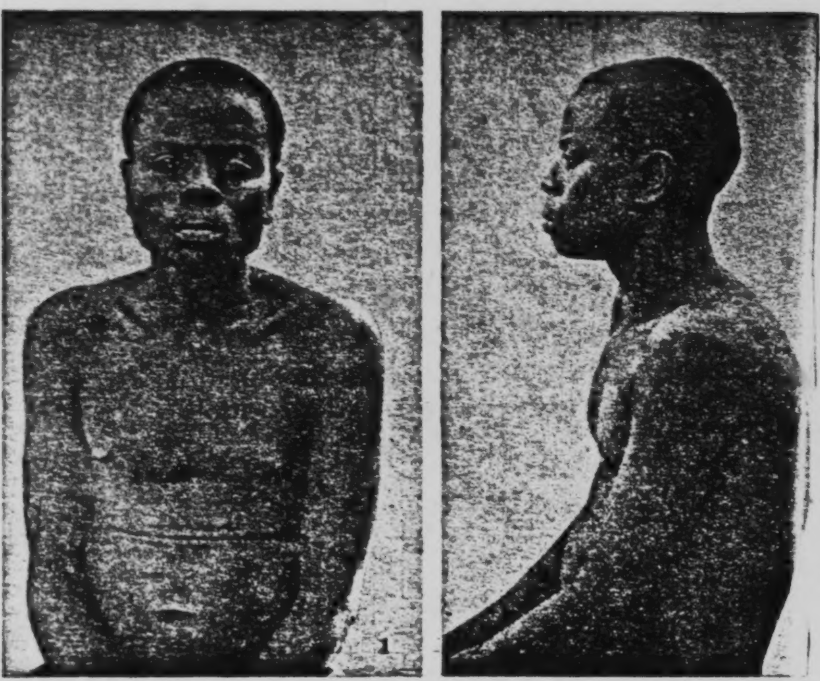

PLATE VI

Figs. 1 & 2—Onge male, front and profile views.

[P. 6 (C)]

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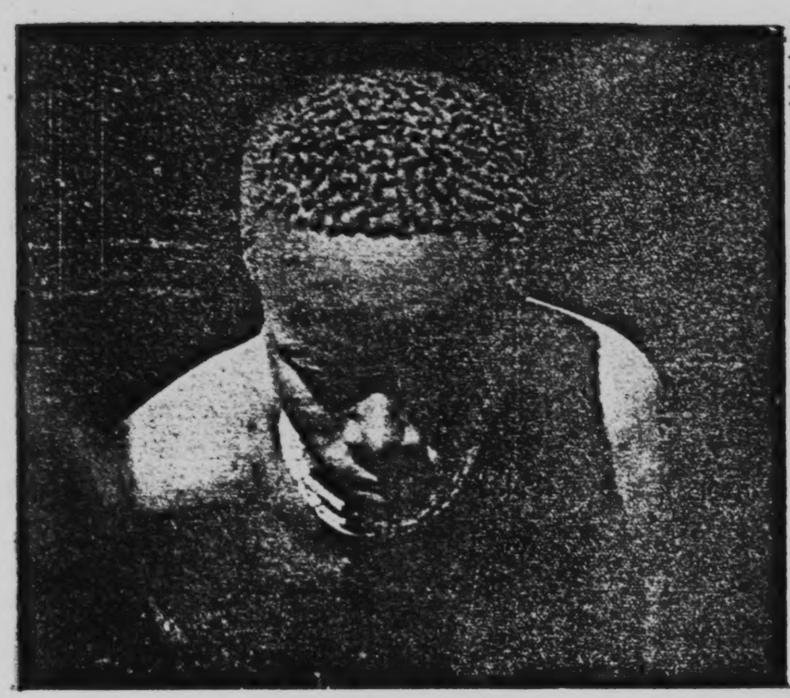

PLATE VII.

Onge male showing pepper-corn type of hair.

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral 226
reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally [462]
consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and
white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish 262
without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered 123
the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the
Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish
without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable,
tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, 264
I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and [252]
disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for
cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated
with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is
usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The [251]
remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on
the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below.
Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable
things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant
to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and 271
bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little
Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water
with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, 123
I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood.
This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and
invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. 264
On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or
bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, [415]
but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy
filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside
from the awful smell. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's statement – that the Andamanese 114
paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that 302
clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge
of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that 147
follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much 827
more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a 751
number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a
few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months 312
of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman.
Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of 271
whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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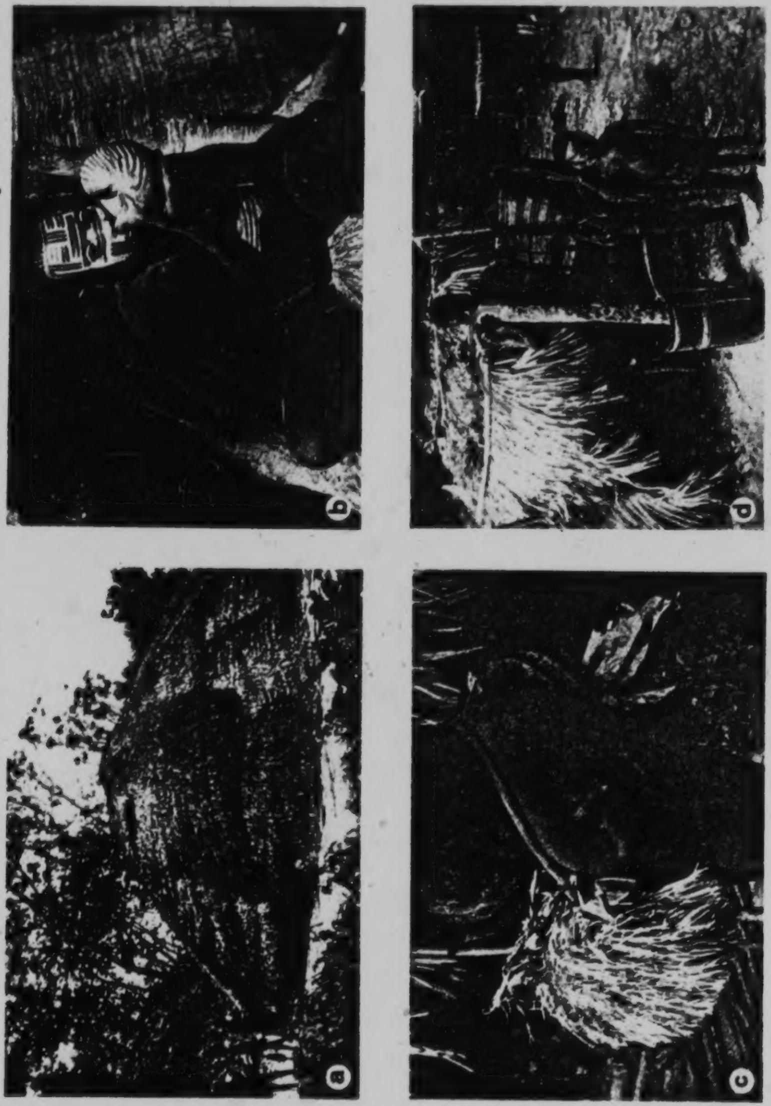

a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghe* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[P.488(A)]

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 2

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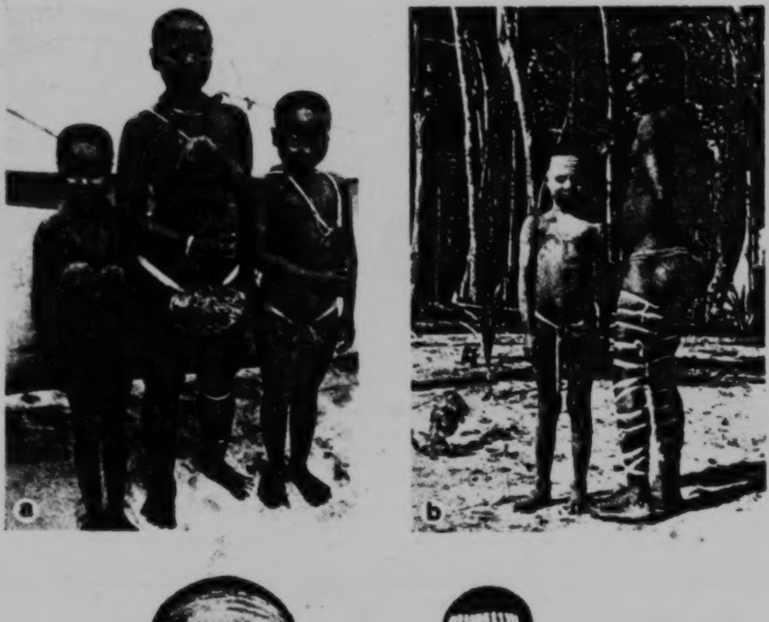

a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghē*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

Anthropos 56. 1961

[P, 488 (B)]

291 *naquinèghè* exposes the former owner to harm. Ill-disposed persons could use
754 it for black magic practices. I collected specimens of this garment, all of them,
however, brand-new – for the above-mentioned reason. To avoid trouble to the
owner, nobody is allowed to touch the *naquinèghè*, which is worn in front of the
vulva. To touch it is a deadly offence. Aside from the *naquinèghè*, Andaman
842 colonists attribute the natives' sterility to their abhorrence of salt. Another
263 opinion would have it that the lack of salt transforms human saliva into poison:
the Jarawas, by spitting on their arrows render them poisonous. The absurdity
of this belief is so evident that it requires no confutation. The Onge refuse to
eat salt because they consider it unhealthy, or, to say the least, disgusting.

III. Illnesses and Onge Curative Methods

164 Few illnesses affect the Onge, but they succumb to those few with surprising
speed. Often they become seriously ill for mysterious reasons and in
spite of their robust appearance. Smallpox, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis are
unknown in Little Andaman, although they sometimes strike in the nearby
Nicobars. Measles broke out on the island on more than one occasion, killing
off all the inhabitants of several communal huts, which I later found deserted
and in ruins. With regard to syphilis, the Indian Census of 1931 quotes an old
remark of PORTMAN's concerning a few individuals considered by him as infected.
This was later denied.

Onge women are more resistant to illness than men. Wounds heal promptly
[752] in both sexes, without the aid of remedies. A few of the older men, however,
had suppurating sores on their legs, slow to disappear even when disinfected
[123] and treated by me with European medicines. No similar sores were
found on women. On the other hand, women suffer more than men from
ringworm, mainly in the umbilical region. Nothing is done to rid them of
it because the discomfort is slight. I suggested an Indian cure made with
the leaves of the neem tree, or Melia azedarach, very common in Southern Asia
[123] where it is considered sacred. I imported the plant to Little Andaman, but
the Onge displayed no interest in it. I found a single instance of leucoderma,
in a woman with whitish spots on her hands and lips. I could get no reliable
information about the incidence of cancer, but it appears to be rare on the
island. No baldness is to be seen in Little Andaman, and I found few traces of
[142] greying hair, as the Onge die young. A transversal bregmatic furrow is noticeable
[482] in all individuals, male and female, as a consequence of carrying loads hung
from their heads by a strip of bark. The Onge start doing this in childhood.
An artificial, unintentional deformation of the skull is the result of that uncomfortable
habit.

751 For hygienic reasons the Little Andaman aborigines paint their bodies with
302 refined clay and ochre of various shades, mainly reddish. This gives the women
[386] occasion to embellish the bodies of their husbands with an endless variety of
geometrical designs. Every year I found changes in their patterns, and I

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is 751
purely hygienic . an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain 302
illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body
becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious
every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or,
in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. [162]
Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for 751
health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, 757
turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing.
Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed [302]
among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I [854]
found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider
clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike - [752]
both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often [171]
added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made
of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red [825]
and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, [317]
made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural
form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt [386]
the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to
the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to
ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used
by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. 757
Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, 171
clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish 823
grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the
softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds [752]
spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative
and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries,
including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins,
and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race
and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts
required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing
purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives 164
are subject to epilepsy - an important matter for the Onge : they consider 828
such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and [158]
respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief [622]
Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance [787]
of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the 164
Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor 151

262 immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when
this recurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their
577 bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by
302 the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change
178 from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness.
Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later
reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution
in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in
males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with what-
ever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published af-
114 firmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special
302 patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more
false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork
[262] turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration –
[751] always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing
illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this
[515] is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the
264 practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The
surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping.
356 When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling.
342 It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked
251 victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter
262 how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms
412 long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by
the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with
strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing
356 it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is
114 to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively
studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological
significance.

123 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would
411 surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface
was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth,
and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a
123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no
[312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spiké Island and sailed for Veratia Jig. Here an old kitchen
midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even
[172] there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal
bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were
discovered there.

648 In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent.
GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed
[721] that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage
of game and other food material [3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have
been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages
that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of
March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened
to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in
1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3)
at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted
to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing
a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation
of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were
sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in
1948. One of them had died before.

726 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive
Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the
[714] Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns
302 of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other
persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people
[727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their
eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is
[411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the
present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951.
It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera
Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead.
726 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measurements
141 of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

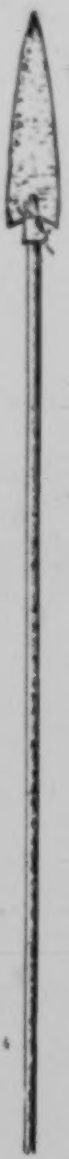

Fig. 4

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[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Homlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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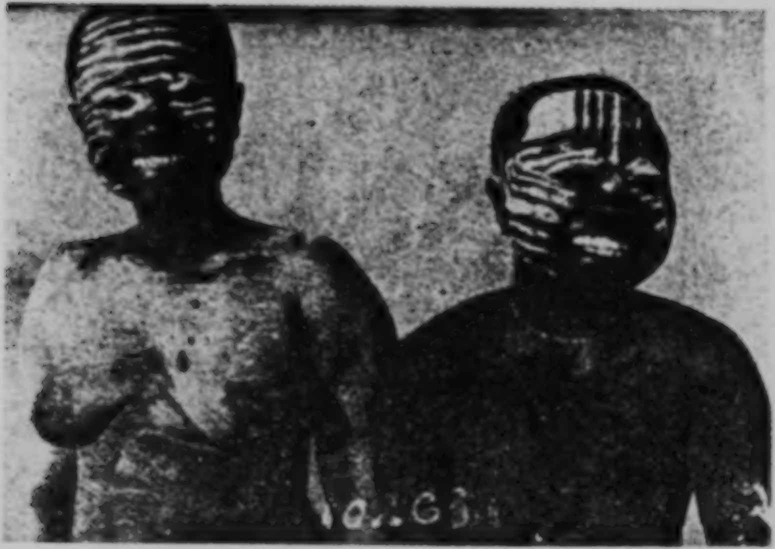

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing p. 64]

Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further 396
to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by 322
them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the 415
smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former 285
is known as *tolcouga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have in- 177
troduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, 412
from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important
pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel 294
of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art 323
of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount 517
of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women 302
shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass [412]
bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which [325]
save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal pur- [757]
poses if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red
orchre paint is a taboo.[1] [765]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon 582
by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. 589
In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the 674
husband and wife work for collecting their food. 593

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for 533
every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than 535
joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman : 101

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island;
(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands; and
(3) *Girerarogobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one 157
of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda- 101

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[1] The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta. [113]

Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petecchiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia. 142

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the unwashed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations. [844] [302] [864] [751] [597]

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark-skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have children. 143 826 [847] [626] [845] [842]

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features, 142

157 Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who
522 frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement.
157 Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the
522 Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with
strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual
831 source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign
of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely
successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were
always peaceable and satisfactory.

● 302 An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without
[157] sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted
nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves
her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him.
[953] The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days,
[751] as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and
[761] the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on
the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally
successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual
and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion.
[123] During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to
show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and
took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they
had no idea what it was for.

304 It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do
[171] not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the*
simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical
[184] admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with
[302] tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre
instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and
30 leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men
824 and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence
[184] of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for
long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

838 An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has
led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual
tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little
Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only
men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the
men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

26 Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves
302 to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat
[224] after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt,
when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give
[164] them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently
instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods.
On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these
solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they
burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting
session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other
to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the
next feast.[1]

276 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made
26 from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one
302 mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

237 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the
356 earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately
beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on
it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere,
especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat,
[412] fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared,
well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly
and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about
eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

356 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the
hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course
342 of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious
172 breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be
364 rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring
is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen
site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up
perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

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[531] [1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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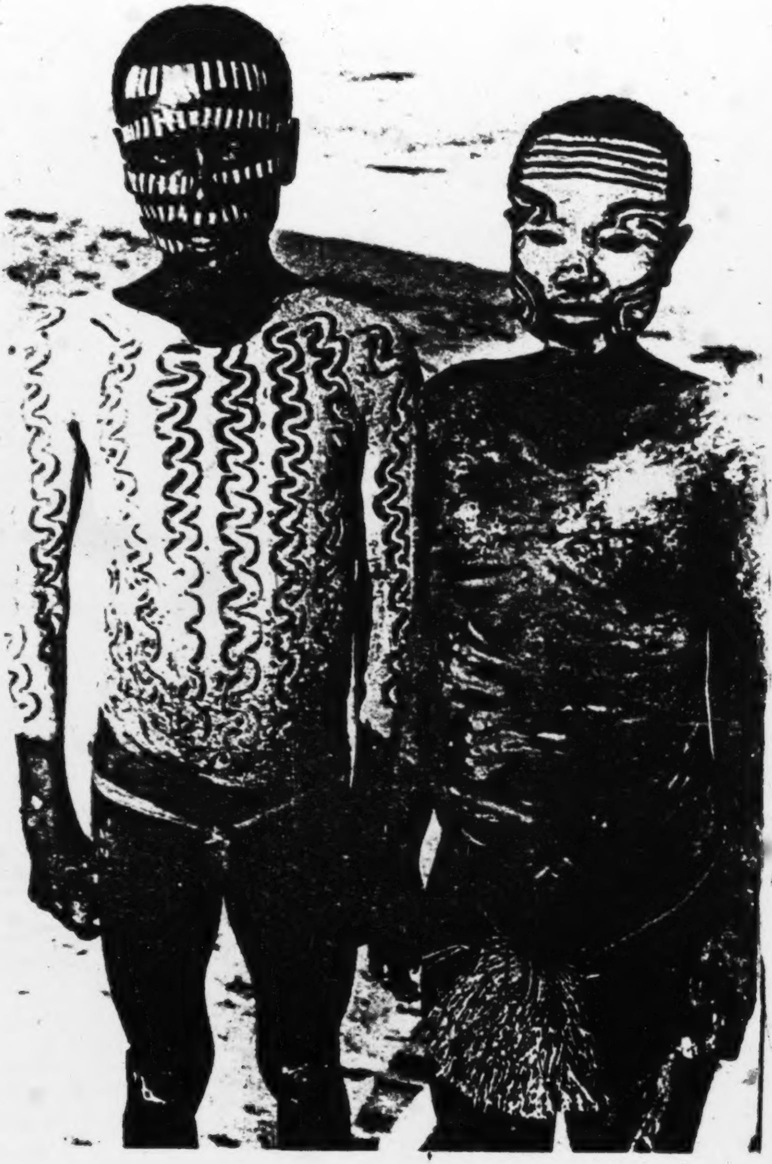
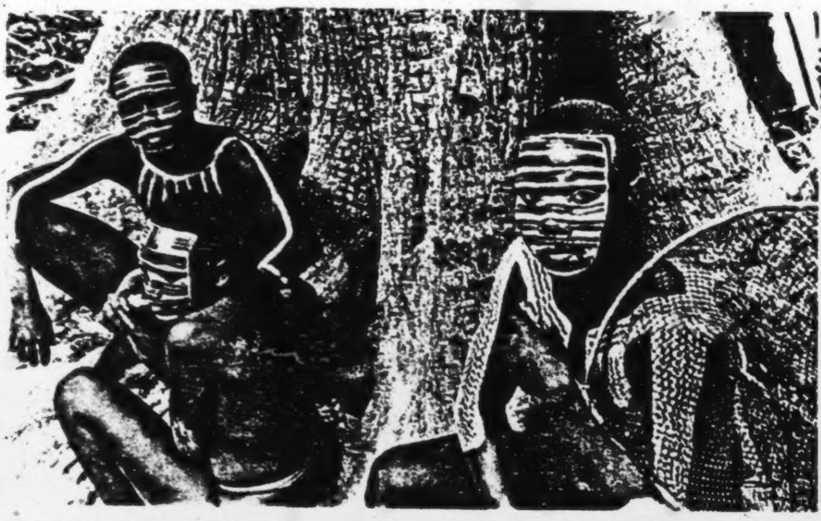


[facing P. 66, B]

/2 . . . Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/



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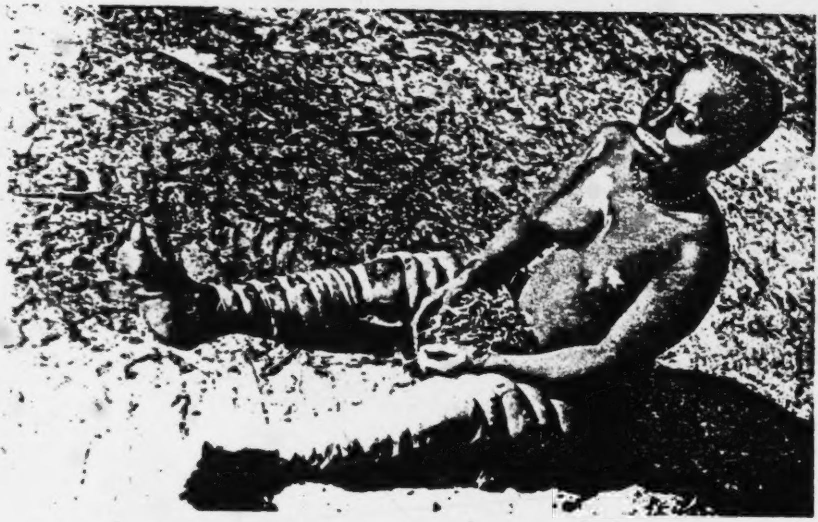

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3 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the bastion roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing p. 66, C]

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[facing P.66, I] /13 Mother and child/

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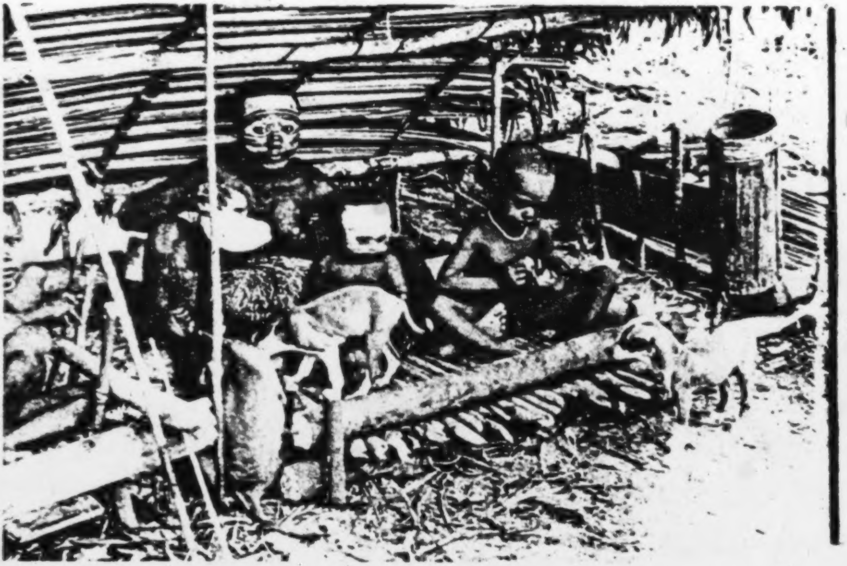

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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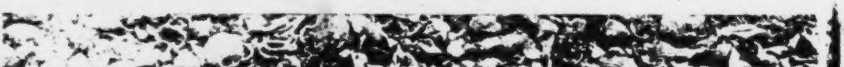

[Facing p. 67]

136 been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

237 ● 302 123 177 Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

136 262 Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

136 Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

802 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low
805 stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of sym-
531 bolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably
532 seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of
some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short,
the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even
today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found
412 which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bush-
men, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of
any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful,
would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

224 The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not
172 their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must
[411] from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard
to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the
227 art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women
177 use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduc-
tion, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the
174 evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence avail-
able it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.
185 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any
437 form of exchange or barter.